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H. H. Marshutz

Commencement 1913,

Mrs Jules Kauffman.

ADDRESSES: HISTORICAL AND UNIVERSITY

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UNIVERSITY AND HISTORICAL ADDRESSES

DELIVERED DURING A RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES AS AMBASSADOR OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY

JAMES BRYCE

New York
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1913

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To

ELIHU ROOT

IN ADMIRATION AND FRIENDSHIP

PREFACE

DURING six years spent in Washington it has been my duty, and also my pleasure, to travel hither and thither over the United States, responding, so far as time and strength permitted, to requests to address Universities, Bar Associations, Chambers of Commerce, and many other public organizations of diverse kinds. Out of the many addresses delivered either to these bodies or in commemoration of some person or event, I have selected a few, the subjects of which seemed to possess a more than passing interest, and of which I had happened to keep notes, enabling the substance to be reproduced. In revising them for publication some additions have been made, while matters of a local or purely occasional character have been omitted. The audiences to which the academic addresses were delivered consisted chiefly of undergraduate or graduating students.

The enjoyment which I had derived from my earlier visits to the United States was renewed and enhanced by the warmth with which I found myself received and by the encouragement given me to speak on all non-political topics as freely as if I had been a citizen of the United States.

I desire to take this opportunity of returning my sincere thanks to those who, in the places where these addresses were delivered, and in scores of other cities which I have visited for the like purpose, gave me that encouragement, and extended to me a welcome the heartiness of which I can never forget.

WASHINGTON,
April 20, 1913.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF VIRGINIA

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT JAMESTOWN ISLAND, VIRGINIA, APRIL 17, 1907, ON THE TERCENTENARY OF THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN VIRGINIA.

UNIVERSITY AND HISTORICAL ADDRESSES

THE BEGINNINGS OF VIRGINIA

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT JAMESTOWN ISLAND, VIRGINIA, APRIL 17, 1907, ON THE TERCENTENARY OF THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN VIRGINIA.

ON this day three hundred years ago two small ships and a pinnace coming from England by way of the Canary Islands and the West Indies anchored here and landed their passengers, being about one hundred and twenty persons in number, upon this Island. They came from London under a charter from the King, James the First of England and Sixth of Scotland, by which there was claimed for the Crown of England the whole of North America between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, being the territory then called Virginia. In the London which these settlers had just left, Shakespeare was then living. Some of them may have seen him, perhaps with Ben Jonson beside him, watching the first performance of *Hamlet* four or five years before. Sir Francis Bacon — the one name naturally suggests the other — was living, though not yet Lord Chancellor. Some of the emigrants may

have heard him arguing cases in the courts. John Milton was born the next year; Sir Walter Raleigh was a man of fifty-five and then a prisoner in the Tower of London; Sir Philip Sidney had been killed at Zutphen in 1586 and Edmund Spenser had died in 1599; Pym was a youth of seventeen; John Hampden a boy of seven; Oliver Cromwell a boy of eight.

The England of those famous men was the England whence the emigrants came, a land fitted to give birth to large and noble enterprises. Measured by what it did for the world, it was a great England, with great poets, great thinkers, and strong men who did great deeds. Never before and never since has such a constellation of brilliant and memorable names glittered in the English sky. But measured by population, England was a little nation, though her statesmen and sailors had not long before won immortal fame by their defeat of the Invincible Armada. There were only some five million inhabitants in the country. Ireland was still but half conquered, and Scotland, though her King had lately inherited the English throne, was a distinct and not too friendly kingdom. And the settlers were few indeed to venture on the task of occupying the vast continent on which they were landing. How feeble must their enterprise have seemed to the men of Spain, which held not only Mexico and the immense territories north of Mexico, but also the whole of South America and all the Antilles! But God had chosen the weak things of the world to con-

found the things which were mighty, and the things which were not to bring to nought the things that were. The Empire of Spain was to decay and dissolve and vanish away, while from this spot, this islet two miles long, where now we see nothing but a few moulder-ing walls, the power of another race was to spread out to the Alleghanies and beyond them to the Missis-sippi, and thence to the Rocky Mountains and the far-off coasts of the Pacific. The oak of English dominion on the continent of North America lay hidden in the acorn that was planted on this island in the James River, just as the germ of English dominion in the East was to be found in the charter that had been granted by Queen Elizabeth to the East India Company seven years before this settlement.

The landing of these few men was one of the great events in the history of the world — an event to be com-pared for its momentous consequences with the over-throw of the Persian Empire by Alexander; with the destruction of Carthage by Rome; with the conquest of Gaul by Clovis; with the taking of Constantinople by the Turks — one might almost say with the discovery of America by Columbus. Did any idea of the magni-tude of this event rise in the minds of the little band of settlers when they read their Royal charter on board ship before landing; or when they held their first religious service and set to the building of their fort, a rude stockade called after the King, "James Town," and began to sow their fields with wheat, and build that

tiny church which the pious care of this generation is restoring? There is nothing to show that they had any such presentiments. Many a settlement tried before upon the American coasts had failed since the half-mythic and by that time long-forgotten landing of Erik the Red in the far Northeast; and they had other things than the distant future to think of, for the Spanish power to the south of them, though then nominally at peace, was jealous of their intrusion, and the Indians around them were suspicious and hostile. But of them it may be said that they, and those who sent them forth from England, had the true spirit of practical men who saw the opportunity which a new country offered to a growing people. They were of the stuff which makes good settlers, and they did that which the needs of the time required.

All the dangers and difficulties that were seen or foreseen they overcame. The power of the mother country kept them safe against the jealous bitterness of Spain. They soon proved themselves able to repel any attacks from the native Indians, and presently ceased to fear these enemies, though they had for many years to stand on guard against them. They suffered so severely from malarial fevers, for in those days the value of quinine as a remedy had not yet become known, that after ninety-three years the colonial legislature decided to remove itself from James Town island to Williamsburg, eight miles to the northeast, and at last, in 1780, the capital of Virginia was planted on the higher

and healthier ground of Richmond. But one mistake was committed, destined to breed troubles far worse than any which Indians or sickness threatened. Twelve years after the first settlement, a Dutch ship landed a cargo of African negroes, the first that ever came into the dominions of the English Crown. This step — a step taken with no prevision of all that was to issue from it, and one for which the colonists themselves were not to blame — established the system of agricultural slave labor in North America, a system which we can now see to have been, apart from the other objections to it, uneconomic and unnecessary; for those who have studied, in the light of modern science, the physical conditions of Virginia and the country south and southwest of it, tell us that nearly all the area of the States in which slavery existed seventy years ago, all, in fact, except the hottest and dampest regions along the coast, could be cultivated by the labour of white men. The country would, no doubt, have been developed more slowly, but there would have been no Civil War and no race problems such as now occupy your thoughts. Let it not be forgotten, however, that Virginia was the first community in the world to recognize the evils which the slave trade brought with it. Not only did she, in colonial days, seek in vain to check or abolish it, but in 1778, in the first years of her independence, when both in England and in the Northern States powerful interests were still defending and supporting the slave trade, she absolutely forbade the bringing of any slaves

into her territory. And you know how many of the greatest Virginians, George Mason and Thomas Jefferson among them, sought to rid their State of slavery.

Let us, however, return to those first founders of Virginia whom we are to-day commemorating. Of the qualities that distinguished them, one, the spirit of adventure, was common to them with many others who had crossed the Western Sea. Think of Columbus when he first showed the path that so many were to follow; of Magellan when he threaded his way through the savage solitudes of the Strait that bears his name, and traversed week after week and month after month, with a crew part of which had lately been in mutiny against him, hard-pressed by thirst and hunger and scurvy, the seemingly boundless wastes of the unknown Pacific. Think of Champlain and La Salle when they found their way among fierce Indian tribes, through the Northern forests or along the shores of the Great Lakes as far as the Mississippi. For mere daring and self-reliant hardihood no expedition has ever surpassed, if indeed any has equalled, that of Hernando Cortez, when after burning his ships he marched up far away from the coast with a tiny band of cavaliers into the heart of the vast and warlike dominion of the Aztecs. But there was another quality in which our countrymen and your forefathers stood preëminent. They came from a free country, though its freedom had not yet been placed on a secure foundation, for that was

to be the work of the century that had just begun in England; and the spirit of liberty and the love of self-government glowed in their hearts.

Herein lay the great contrast between the English of that day and the not less valiant adventurers who had already gone forth from Spain. That the former went to cultivate the soil and the latter primarily to win gold and silver, whether by conquest or by the discovery of mines, is a difference that has often been dwelt upon. But the future fortunes of the two sets of emigrants were even more affected by the difference in their political temper and ideas. The Englishmen, though loyal to their sovereign at home, were not disposed to acquiesce in the uncontrolled rule of his deputies. They had a company to represent in England their needs and wishes, and they soon set up in the new land a system of local courts and assemblies, modelled on the lines and principles of that which they had left behind. They valued this inherited freedom, and as the enjoyment of it had strengthened the character and developed the independent and self-reliant spirit of the individual citizen during three centuries in England, so it began to do the same wholesome work on these remote and silent shores.

Modern writers have speculated as to what was the cargo that these three vessels carried. Of that we know less than we could wish. Bibles and prayer-books they certainly had, for they were God-fearing men, and one of their prime objects was "the planting

of Christianity amongst heathens." Whether they had any law books does not appear. But they carried in their breasts the principles and traditions of the common law of England, which of all the legal systems that have ever been framed is the one most fully pervaded with the spirit of liberty and the most favorable to the development of personal self-reliance and individual responsibility. That spirit showed itself from the first among the colonists of Virginia. They soon organized their Assembly and began to govern themselves so far as the King allowed them. They were well supported by the Virginia Company in London. Its debates and the liberal tendencies it evinced caused disquiet to the Court party and to the King, whose shrewd and suspicious mind already noted the rising of the wind which was to swell thirty-three years later into the tempest of the great Civil War.

How the spirit of freedom and that assertion of individual rights which the doctrines of the Common Law favoured went on working through the annals of colonial Virginia as in those of the great sister and rival colony of Massachusetts; how the same spirit prompted Virginia's action when an unwise English Ministry, ignorant of the circumstances and feelings of the colonists, blundered into a conflict which ended in their severance from England; how the greatest of all Virginians, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, led his colony and its fellow colonies in that conflict; how the statesmanship of Virginia, matured by the experience of

nearly two centuries, bore its part, and an eminently useful part it was, in framing the Constitution of 1787, and gave to the Union four out of its five first Presidents; how one of Virginia's most illustrious sons, Chief Justice Marshall, so expounded and developed the Constitution as to become almost its second author, — of all this I must not here and now attempt to speak. Sixty years ago dark days descended upon Virginia. The fatal error committed in early years, from the consequences of which Virginia had vainly sought to extricate herself, had now borne fatal fruit. War came, with all the evils that war brings in its train, and on Virginia those evils fell more heavily than on any other State. Those were days of unspeakable sadness and suffering, suffering borne with the characteristic gallantry of Virginians, and they produced in Robert E. Lee one of the finest characters of that age, a man whose purity of heart and loftiness of soul live in the revering memory not of America only but of the world of English-speaking men. But out of the storm there emerged a State delivered from the blot of slavery, which has now regained its old prosperity, and there emerged also a national Republic more truly united than it ever was before. The jealousies of States, the antagonism of North and South, the rivalry of Virginia and Massachusetts, have now happily vanished in a far vaster nation. The Carolina of Calhoun and the Illinois of Lincoln can both look back without bitterness on those Virginia

battle-fields where Lee and Grant won undying fame. The problems that occupy the thoughts of your people and tax to the utmost the wisdom of your statesmen, have, with one exception, that problem which slavery bequeathed, nothing to do with geographical boundaries. Never was there in this country so strong a sense that whatever the future may have in store, the Federal Union — "an indestructible union of indestructible States" — must and will be preserved. It is guarded not only by your national patriotism, but by nature herself, who has made your land one from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, a land fit to be the home of one undivided nation.

In this season of fair weather it is natural that your eyes should look back across the sea to the ancient Motherland, from whom you were for a time divided by clouds of misunderstanding that have now melted away into the blue. Between you and her there is now an affection and a sympathy such as perhaps there never was before in the days of your political connection. To-day she rejoices with you in your prosperity and your unity. She is proud of you, and among her many achievements there is none of which she is more proud than this, that she laid the foundation of your vast and splendid Republic, giving you those institutions under which, remodelled to suit your new conditions and your extended area, your ninety millions of people now live in peace in freedom.

You have asked me to say what England's message

to America would be on this three hundredth anniversary of the birth of the American nation.

On the occasion of the opening of the Jamestown Tercentenary Exposition a fortnight ago, I had the honour of transmitting to the President of the United States a greeting from the King and his Government in the following words: —

"On the occasion of the celebrations commemorating the tercentenary of the foundation of the first English settlement on the American continent at Jamestown and the birth of the American nation, his Majesty's Government wish to offer their warmest congratulations to the United States Government on the magnificent progress and development which have brought the United States into the first rank among the greatest nations of the world, not only in material prosperity, but also in culture and peaceful civilization. The connection which must ever exist in history between the British and American nations will never be forgotten, and will contribute to increase and foster ties of affection between the two peoples."

These words express the sentiment of the British people, their sentiment of affection and of pride, of pride in what you have done already, of hope for what you may do in the future.

If any words were to be added in which Englishmen who have reflected upon your history and their own history would seek to convey their view of the teachings of English and American experience, I would ask: Could

the ancient Motherland with her recollections of fourteen centuries of national life and seven centuries of slow but steady constitutional development send to her mighty daughter a better message than this? "Cherish alike and cherish together Liberty and Law. They are always inseparable. Without liberty, there is no true law, because where law expresses the will not of the whole community, but merely of an arbitrary ruler or a selfish class, it has neither moral force nor guarantee of permanence. Without order and law duly enforced and equal for all, there is no true liberty, for anarchy means that the rights of the gentle and the weak are overridden by the violent. In the union of ordered liberty with a law gradually remoulded from age to age to suit the changing needs of the people, has lain and will always lie the progress and peace both of Britain and of America."

WHAT UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTION MAY DO TO PROVIDE INTELLECTUAL PLEASURES FOR LATER LIFE

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, JUNE 11, 1907.

WHAT UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTION MAY DO TO PROVIDE INTELLECTUAL PLEASURES FOR LATER LIFE

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, JUNE 11, 1907.

YOUR University is placed in a wonderful city. In the rapidity of its growth, in the expansion of its trade and population, it has no parallel in the modern world, not even in this Western world which has shown so many new and startling phenomena. It owes its prosperity, and it will owe that marvellous future to which it looks forward, to two things. One is the eager, ardent, restless spirit, keenly perceptive and unweariedly active, of your people. The other is modern science, which has made you the business centre of the great Northwest and has enabled vast industrial enterprises to be started all round the commercial heart of your city. James Watt and the other famous inventors who have followed him are the men who have made such a city as Chicago possible. Your people have turned the possibility into a reality. Two great departments of human activity, production and transportation, have been all over the world transformed by science, and the effect of the change is felt in every other department.

It must needs be felt in education also. Seventy years ago applied science was hardly taught at all in schools and universities, and theoretic science, except, of course, mathematics, not at all in schools and but little in universities. Now science has come to dominate the field of education, and in some countries is avenging herself for the contumely with which the old-fashioned curriculum used to treat her by now herself trying to relegate the study of language and literature to a secondary place. Nothing could have been more foolish than the way in which some old-fashioned classical scholars used to look down upon chemistry and physiology as vulgar subjects. But any men of science who wish to treat literature or history with a like arrogance will make just as great a mistake.

In England there are some signs of this arrogance, and it is becoming necessary to insist upon the importance of the human as opposed to the natural or scientific subjects. Whether this is the case here also you know better than I do. It need excite no surprise that there should be a general rush at present towards those branches of study which have most to promise in the way of success in life. But I am glad to know that in the greatest universities of America ample provision is made for, and all due encouragement is given to, the humanistic and literary subjects. Assuming this to be so, assuming that for the purposes of a general liberal education and also for the purpose

of special preparation for the various professions and occupations, all lines of study are here alike recognized and efficiently taught, I pass to another aspect of what university education may accomplish.

That which I ask you to join me in considering is the value and helpfulness to the individual man of scientific studies and of literary studies, respectively, not for success in any occupation or profession, nor for any other gainful purpose, but for what may be called the enjoyment of life after the days of university education have ended.

All education has two sides. It is meant to impart the knowledge, the skill, the habits of diligence and concentration which are needed to secure practical success. It is also meant to form character, to implant taste, to cultivate the imagination and the emotions, to prepare a man to enjoy those delights which belong to hours of leisure and to the inner life which goes on, or ought to go on, all the time within his own breast.

All study contains or implies the pleasure of putting forth our powers, of mastering difficulties, of acquiring new aptitudes, of making the mental faculties quick and deft like the fingers. It is a pleasure to see the intellect gleam and cut like a well-tempered and keen-edged sword. This kind of pleasure can be derived from all studies, though not from all equally. Some give a better intellectual training than others; some are better fitted for one particular type of mind

than for other types. But with these differences I do not propose to deal to-day. I want you to think of the training of the mind, not for work or display, but for enjoyment.

Everyone of us ought to have a second or inner life of the intellect over and above that life which he leads among other men for the purposes of his avocation, be it to gain money or power or fame, or be it to serve his country or his neighbors. Considering himself as a Mind made to reflect and to enjoy, he ought to have some pursuit, some taste — if you like, even some fad or hobby — to which he can turn from the daily routine of his work for rest and for that change of occupation which is the best kind of rest, something round which his thoughts can play when he is alone and in which he can realize his independence of outward calls, his freedom from external demands and external restrictions. Whatever the taste or pursuit be, whether of a higher or of a commoner type, to have it is a good thing for him. But of course the more wholesome and stimulating and elevating the taste or pursuit is, so much the better.

Now the question I ask you to consider is this: What can instruction in natural science do, and what can instruction in the human or literary subjects do, to instil such tastes, to suggest such pursuits? What sort of teaching and training can a university give to its student fit for him to carry away from the university as a permanent possession for his own private

use and pleasure, to be added to by his exertions as he finds time and opportunity, not that he may be richer or more famous, but that he may be, if possible, wiser, and at any rate happier?

The study of any branch of natural science has one great charm in the fact that it opens possibilities of discovering new truth. There is hardly a branch of physics or chemistry, or of biology or natural history, in which the patient enquirer may not hope to extend the boundaries of knowledge. This is what makes physical science, as a professional occupation, so attractive. The work is in itself interesting, perhaps even exciting, quite apart from any profit to one's self. One is occupied with what is permanent, one is in quest of reality, one may at any moment taste the thrilling pleasures of discovery.

But such work requires in most departments an elaborate provision of laboratories and apparatus, and (in nearly all departments of research) an amount of time constantly devoted to observation and experiment which practically restricts it to those who make it the business of their life, and puts it out of the reach of persons actually engaged in some other occupation. Discoveries have been made by scientific amateurs. Benjamin Franklin and his contemporaries, Cavendish and Priestley, are cases in point. But this is increasingly difficult. Few lawyers or merchants or engineers or practising physicians can hope for time to enjoy this pleasure. The best that a scientific educa-

tion can do for them is to start them with enough knowledge to enable them to follow intelligently the onward march of scientific investigation.

There is also a pleasure in meditating upon the ultimate problems of matter, force, and life, even if one cannot do anything toward solving them. The unknown appeals to our imagination, especially if we have imagination enough to feel that the unknown is all around us, and to realize the grandeur and solemnity of nature. You all remember the majestic lines in which the Roman poet declares his passionate desire that the divine mistresses of knowledge should explain to him the secrets of the universe: —

> Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae,
> Quarum sacra fero ingenti perculsus amore,
> Accipiant, coelique vias et sidera monstrent;
> Defectus solis varios, lunaeque labores;
> Unde tremor terris; qua vi maria alta tumescant,
> Objicibus ruptis, rursusque in se ipsa residant.[1]

The mysteries which chiefly excited Virgil's curiosity were the movements of the heavenly bodies, the eclipses of the sun and moon, the cause of earthquakes, and the theory of the tides. Of these the second and the last have so long ago been explained that they no longer greatly engage the thoughts of others than astronomers, while the causes that produce earthquakes are at any rate partially known. Our curiosity regarding the first, now concentrated upon the move-

[1] Virgil in the second book of the Georgics.

ments of the so-called Fixed Stars, has of late years become keener than ever as new vistas of enquiry are opening themselves to view. Yet it is now that borderland of physics, chemistry, and metaphysics in which lie questions relating to the nature of matter itself and the persistence of force under diverse forms, which chiefly rouses our wonder, and makes us speculate as to whether light may be thrown from that side upon the relations of what is called Matter to what is called Mind. Whoever possesses even a slight acquaintance with chemistry and physics is more capable of following the course of investigation in this direction than are persons altogether without scientific training; and these problems are no less fitted to touch a susceptible imagination than were those which Virgil vainly sought to comprehend.

In these ways natural science may appeal even to those whose daily course of life debars them from continuing to study it; and this is one of the reasons which suggests that some knowledge at least of the method and the fundamental conceptions of science, mathematical and physical, is a necessary part of a liberal education.

What we call natural history (*i.e.* geology, botany, and zoölogy) stands on a somewhat different footing. No pursuits give more pleasure, or a purer kind of pleasure, than that given by these forms of enquiry. They take us into open-air nature, they make us familiar with her, and they generally involve active exer-

tion of body as well as mind. The only drawback is that it is difficult for the dwellers in those vast cities, which have unfortunately grown up during the last hundred years, to enjoy these pursuits, except for a few holiday weeks in summer.

If, however, we revert to the question of how much science can do, in the case of those whose occupations forbid them to prosecute systematic scientific study, for the enrichment and refinement of that inner life whereof I have spoken, we shall find that the range of its influence is limited. It is only in certain aspects that it appeals to the imagination, nor does every man's imagination respond. To the emotions, other than those of wonder and admiration, it does not directly appeal. It is remote from the hopes, the fears, the needs, the aspirations of human beings. While you are at work on the hydrocarbons in the college laboratory, your curiosity and interest are roused by the remarkable phenomena they present. But they do not help you to order your life and conversation aright. Euclid's geometry is interesting as a model of exact deductive reasoning. One remembers it with pleasure. A man who has some leisure and some talent in this direction may all through his life enjoy the effort of solving mathematical problems. But has any one at a supreme moment of some moral struggle ever been able to find help and stimulus in the thought that the square described upon the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the squares described on the two other sides thereof?

By far the larger part of the life of everyone of us as a being who thinks and feels is that part which puts him in contact with other human beings, either with the lives of those whom he meets or with the thoughts and deeds of those who in time past have done memorable acts, or have left written words round which his own mind can play. Man himself — "the little God of the world" as Mephistopheles calls him[1] — is the principal thing on this globe as we know it, and that which explains him has after all the deepest interest for us.

Whatever be anyone's occupation, he spends most of his working hours in the company of his fellow-men. They may not delight him, as they did not delight Hamlet, or they may delight him, as they surely must have delighted Shakespeare. But whether they delight him or not, they are an inexhaustible field of study; and the study becomes more interesting when we compare the persons whom we meet and observe with the figures that stand out in the works of those masters of fiction who have known how to make human nature as true in tale or drama as it is in fact. So is it, too, with those whose words and deeds have come down to us from the past. When one has gazed upon the portraits of famous men in the long and stately gallery of history, one can view with a more sympathetic or more humorous eye the endless picture-show that moves before his vision in the present.

Accordingly, when we turn from thinking of our

[1] In the Prologue to Goethe's *Faust*.

active life in the world to the inner or personal life, it is the human subjects which are best fitted to nourish it and illumine it. Under the human subjects I include history, philosophy, and imaginative literature. History (of which biography is a part) covers all that man has thought and felt and said and planned and achieved. It is the best mirror of human nature, for it describes things in the concrete, human nature not as we fancy it but as it is. It reveals to us not only what has been, but how that which is has come to be what it is. It helps to explain to us our own generation as well as those that have gone before. Rightly understood, it does this better than all the dissertations and exhortations, — *plenius et melius Chrysippo et Crantore*, — perhaps better even than the sermons. That there are many doubtful questions in history does not materially reduce its value. The trained historian smiles at those who say that history is false because some things are and some may even always remain uncertain; though no one will be and ought to be more severe toward those who recklessly neglect or wilfully pervert the facts so far as ascertainable.

Psychology and ethics, though they are more and more seeking, like history, to follow scientific methods, approach the study of human nature in a more abstract and general way than history does. They have the great interest of appealing directly to individual consciousness, and whoever has formed a taste for them

will find that he has an infinite field open for observing the phenomena which he himself and those around him present. He may even experiment on them, but such experiments, unless carefully conducted, may be as dangerous as those which chemists euphemistically describe as attended by a sudden and rapid evolution of sound, light, and heat.

Of literature, as apart from history and philosophy, there are many branches, but that branch which I seek to dwell upon for our present purpose is poetry and the imaginative treatment, whether in verse or in prose, of human themes. Epic and dramatic poems present pictures of life as the highest constructive minds have seen it. Reflective and lyric poems are the finest expression that has been found for human emotion. In their several ways they give voice to what in our clearest moments of vision or at our highest moments of exaltation, we ordinary mortals are able dimly to feel but faintly or feebly to express. In this way they both instruct us and stimulate us more than anything else can do; and they also give a rare and delicate pleasure by the perfection of their form. In urging on you what universities may do to implant a love of literature which shall last through life, let me lay especial stress upon the literature of periods remote from our own. The narratives and the poetry of primitive peoples such as the ancient Hebrews, and the ancient Greeks, and our own far-off Teutonic and Celtic forefathers have the incomparable merit of presenting

thought and passion in their simplest form. They do us an immense service in illuminating the annals of mankind as a whole, by making us feel our own identity with and yet also our differences from the earlier phases of human society. They give a sense of the growth and development of the human spirit which carries us out of our own narrow horizon, which makes all the movements of the world seem to be part of one great drama, which saves us from fancying ourselves to be better or wiser than those who went before, which ennobles life itself by the ample prospect which it opens.

Most — though not all — of the literature I am speaking of can be fully enjoyed and appreciated only in the languages in which it was originally composed. These are vulgarly called "dead languages." Let no one be afraid of that name. No language is dead which perfectly conveys thoughts that are alive and are as full of energy now as they ever were. An idea or a feeling grandly expressed lives forever, and gives immortality to the words that enshrine it.

Let me add that it is in large measure through literature that we have been able to enjoy the pleasures of nature and those of art. Whoever possesses a sense for form and color may appreciate a fine picture without any knowledge of the technique of painting. But he will see comparatively little in it if his taste has not been formed and trained by the study of masterpieces and if his mind has not received the cul-

tivation which letters and history give. So a man need not have read the poets to be able to find delight in a beautiful landscape. But he will enjoy it far more if he knows what Thomson, Cowper, Burns, Scott, Shelley, Ruskin, and above all, Wordsworth, have written. How much have they done to increase a sense of the charm of nature in all who use our tongue!

What are the practical conclusions which I desire to submit to you as the result of these suggestions? They are two.

The ardour with which the study of the physical sciences is now pursued for practical purposes must not make us forget that education has to do a great deal more than turn out a man fitted to succeed in business. It must also endeavour to give him a power of enjoying the best pleasures. The physical sciences do open such pleasures, but these are not so easily obtained, nor so well adapted to stimulate and polish most minds, nor so calculated to strengthen and refine the character, as those which can be drawn from the human or literary subjects.

Secondly, in the study of such literary subjects as languages and history, we must beware of giving exclusive attention to the technicalities of grammar and to purely critical enquiries. There is some risk that in the eagerness to apply exact methods so as to secure accuracy and a mastery of detail, the literary quality of the books read and the dramatic and personal aspect of the events and persons studied may be too

little regarded. Exact methods and the whole apparatus of grammatical lore have their use for the purposes of college training, but in after years it is the thoughts and style of the writers, the permanent significance or the romantic quality of the events, that ought to dwell in the mind. There is certainly in England a tendency, perhaps due to German influences, to hold that history ought, in order that it may be thoroughly scientific, to welcome dulness and dryness. It is said, I know not with what truth, that the same tendency is felt here. The ethical side and the romantic side may have been overdone in time past, but it must never be forgotten that one of the chief aims of history is to illustrate human nature. We need throughout life to have all the light thrown upon human nature that history and philosophy can throw; to have all the help and inspiration for our own lives that poetry can give. Much of everyone's work is dull and monotonous, perhaps even depressing, and that escape from the dulness of many a business career which the strain of fierce competition or bold speculation promises is a dangerous resource. It is better to nurture and cherish what I have ventured to call the inner life. Not all can succeed; none can escape sorrows and disapointments. He who under disappointments or sorrows has no resources within his own command beyond his daily round of business duties, nothing to which he can turn to cheer or refresh his mind, wants a precious spring of strength and consolation.

Nowhere in the world is there so strong a desire among the people for a university education as here in America. The effects of this will no doubt be felt in the coming generation. Let us hope they will be felt not only in the completer equipment of your citizens for public life and their warmer zeal for civic progress, but also in a true perception of the essential elements of happiness, an enlarged capacity for enjoying those simple pleasures which the cultivation of taste and imagination opens to us all.

THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS IN 1620

ADDRESS AT PROVINCETOWN, CAPE COD, MASSACHUSETTS, JULY, 1907.

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FIRST let me thank you, in behalf of the Sovereign and the people whom I am honoured by being deputed to represent in the United States, for your invitation to join in the celebration to-day of a great event. It is fitting that Old England, whence came the settlers whose anding at this spot you commemorate, should be remembered here in this oldest part of New England and should send you her greeting.

These colonists were men of the right stamp to settle and develop a new country. England gave you of her best, and she gave them in a great crisis of her own fate.

She has ever since watched the fortunes of their descendants, marking their growing greatness, and never with more pride, more sympathy, and more affection than she does to-day.

Many of you may remember to have seen somewhere on the island-girt coasts of Massachusetts or Maine a rainbow stretching from one isle to another, and seeming to make a radiant bridge from land to land. It is a beautiful sight, and still more beautiful when the rainbow is a double one.

In this shape of a double rainbow, bridging the ocean

from England to America, there presents itself to me the double settlement of this continent by the men who founded Virginia and the men who founded Massachusetts. The rainbow is the symbol of hope, and America has been and still is to Europe the Land of Hope. Over this bridge of hope millions have passed from the Old World hither, and it is in the spirit of hope for the future of a land so blessed by Providence as yours that we of England send our hearty greetings.

Much has been said — indeed, little has been left unsaid — in praise of the Pilgrim Fathers, for this country is fertile in celebrations, and I cannot hope to say anything new about them. But every man must speak of a thing as it strikes him.

I ask myself, when I think of these exiles coming to make their home on what was then a bleak and desert shore: What was it that brought them thither? Was it the love of civil liberty? They loved civil liberty, for they had suffered from the oppression of the royal officers, but it was not mainly for the sake of that liberty that they came, nor indeed had the great struggle yet begun when they quitted England to spend those years in friendly Holland which preceded their voyage hither. Nor were these Pilgrims made of the same stern fighting stuff as the Puritans who came to another part of Massachusetts Bay a little later and became the founders of Salem and Boston.

Was it for the love of religious liberty? Not at any rate for such a general freedom of conscience as we and

you have now long enjoyed, not for the freedom that means an unquestioned right to all men to speak and write and teach as they would. The proclamation of that general freedom and the rights of the individual conscience might not have been altogether congenial to either Pilgrims or Puritans. Certainly it had not yet been made by its noble apostle, Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, the most original in his thinking and perhaps the most lovable in his character of all the founders of North American Colonies.

What these Pilgrims did desire and what brought them here was the wish to worship God in the way they held to be the right way. It was loyalty to truth and to duty as they saw it that moved them to quit first their English homes and friends, and then their refuge in Holland, and face the terrors of the sea and the rigours of a winter far harsher than their own, in an untrodden land, where enemies lurked in trackless forests.

No one expected to find gold on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. No one hoped for that fountain of youth which Ponce de Leon had sought in Florida a century before. No one dreamed of the mighty State which was to grow out of the tiny settlement.

Not in the thirst for gold; not in the passion for adventure; not for the sake of dominion, but in faith and in duty were laid the foundations of the Colony and State of Massachusetts.

Is not this what their settlement means to us now after three hundred years? Faith and duty, when

mated to courage (for without courage they avail little) are the most solid basis on which the greatness of a nation can rest. The strength of a State lies in the characters of its citizens.

It is a far cry from Massachusetts to Italy, but when I think of these forefathers of yours, — and here I think of the Puritans as well as the Pilgrims, and of the men of Connecticut and Rhode Island as well as the men of Massachusetts, — men of plain, stern lives, of high purposes and steadfast wills, I am reminded of the famous line in which the great Roman poet says that it was on the austere simplicity of her olden days and the strong men she reared that the might of Rome was founded.

Moribus antiquis stat res Romana virisque.

Such men were your Puritan makers of New England. They were hewn from the same rock as those soldiers of Cromwell, some of whom were doubtless their kinsfolk, before whom every enemy went down, and to whom was fitly applied that verse from the Hebrew Psalm: "Let the praises of God be in their mouths and a two-edged sword in their hands."

They were men of a bold and independent spirit, but they knew the value of law, and these Pilgrims of A. D. 1620, coming into a region for which no government had yet been provided, bound themselves to one another by a solemn compact signed in the cabin of their ship; constituting themselves "a civill body politick" with power to "enacte just and equall lawes," to which they

promised all due submission and obedience, thereafter choosing one of themselves to be their Governor for the year ensuing.

Many generations have come and gone since the November days when the little *Mayflower* lay rocking in yonder bay, with the Pilgrim mothers and sisters looking out wistfully over the cold, gray waters, in those days silent and lonely, and with the children, cooped up for many a weary week, asking when, at last, they would be put on shore.

Many things have come to pass, both in England and here, which those grave, grim ancestors of yours might disapprove, good and necessary as you and we may think them. But one thing remains as true now as it was then.

The fearless man who loves truth and obeys duty is the man who prevails and whose work endures. The State which has such men, and to which such men are glad to render devoted service in war as in peace, grows to be the great State. Those men bequeathed to you traditions and the memory of high thoughts and brave deeds which have been helpful to you ever since in many an hour of need, and will be helpful to you while your Republic stands. Many new elements have entered into the American people, and much of the blood of the New England of to-day comes from other than old English sources. But there is an inheritance of the spirit as well as of the blood, and the type survives because it has become a part of the character

which each generation transmits to those who come after. So may the type of the resolute, God-fearing men who laid the foundations of this Commonwealth abide with you for ages to come.

You are setting the corner-stone of a Tower which, looking far out over the waves of the Atlantic, shall commemorate those who laid the foundations of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, an event worthy of everlasting memory. Yet there is a sense in which we may deem that no monument piled high in stone is needed.

It was said by a famous statesman of antiquity that "the whole earth is the tomb of illustrious men." So the wide land which the descendants of these settlers have covered with flourishing cities and in which they themselves planted the first seeds of civil and ecclesiastical government is itself their most enduring monument.

In their darkest days one wrote to them from England: "Let it not be grievous unto you that you have been instruments to break the ice for others. The honour shall be yours to the world's end." That honour has been theirs and will be theirs.

From Cape Cod here close beside you to Cape Flattery on the far-off shores of the Pacific, corn-fields and mines, railroads, and populous cities, State Houses where legislatures meet, and courts where justice is dispensed, all bear witness to the men who here began the work of civilizing a continent and establishing in it a government rooted from the first, and rooted deep, in the principles of liberty.

THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONAL CHARACTER AND HISTORICAL ENVIRONMENT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMON LAW

ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING IN PORTLAND, MAINE, AUGUST, 1907.

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NOT long ago I had occasion to read an opinion rendered on a point of law by an eminent legal practitioner in a Spanish-American country. The point itself was one which might have arisen equally well in the United States or in England. But the way of approaching it and dealing with it, the turn of thought and the forms of expression, were curiously unlike those which one would have found in anyone trained in the Common Law whether in the United States or in England. This unlikeness pointed to some inherent difference in the way of looking at and handling legal questions. Many of you have doubtless had a similar experience, and have been similarly led to ask what is at the bottom of this difference between the legal ideas and legal methods of ourselves whose minds have been formed by the study of the Common Law and the ideas and methods of the lawyers who belong to the European continent or to South and Central American States. French, German, Italian, Spanish lawyers are all more like one

another than any of these are to Englishmen or Americans.

The causes of this difference lie far back in the past. It would have been discernible in the seventeenth century, and might indeed have been even more marked then than it is now. Two hundred years ago the law of England had already acquired a distinctive quality, and that quality has remained distinctive until now, both here and in Old England, although the substantive provisions of the law have been changed in many respects by the economic and social progress which the two branches of the race have made, and by the new conditions under which those branches live. We may still with truth speak of the Common Law as being the common possession of the United States and of England, because that spirit, those tendencies, those mental habits which belonged to the English stock when still undivided have been preserved. The causes that produced them belong to a period long anterior to 1776, when the ancestors of Marshall, Kent, Story, Taney, Webster, Curtis, were living in English villages side by side with those of Coke, Hale, Holt, Hardwicke, Blackstone, Eldon, and the other sages who adorn the English roll of legal fame. These causes were indeed at work far back in the Middle Ages. Just as the character of an individual man is in its essence formed before he attains manhood, though the circumstances of his life modify it, giving prominence to some parts of it and

leaving others undeveloped, so in those early centuries were formed that set of ideas and that type of mind which took shape in the provisions and the procedure of the old law of England. The substance of these provisions was partly general, that is, such as must exist in every organized and civilized society, partly special, such as the particular conditions of the country and the time needed. The form was due to the lawyers, whether judges, writers, or practitioners. Now the form has greatly affected the substance, and has proved hardly less permanent. When we study the growth of the Common Law we must think not only of the rules of inheritance, the doctrine of consideration for a contract, the conception of felony, the definition of manor; we must think also of the forms of actions, of the jury, of the authority of decided cases. All these were already well settled before the first English colonist set foot on the American continent. They had become part of the life and legal consciousness of the nation.

What would an observer who had studied legal history in general select as the distinguishing qualities, the peculiar and characteristic notes of the Common Law?

First, its firm grasp of the rights of the individual citizen. He is conceived of, he is dealt with, as a centre of force, an active atom, whirling about among other atoms, a person in whom there inhere certain powers and capacities, which he is entitled to assert and make effective, not only against other citizens, but against

all other citizens taken together; that is, as against the state itself and its visible embodiment or organ, the executive government.

Secondly, its recognition of the state and the executive as clothed with the authority of the whole community, as being an effective power, entitled to require and compel the obedience of the individual wherever and whenever it does not trespass on the rights which are legally secured to him. To be effective, law must have not only physical force behind it, but also the principle of legitimate authority, the sense in every citizen that his individual free will has its limits, and can be exerted only within the sphere allotted to it. Liberty is, in a civilized community, the child of law. It is not his own pleasure, but the fact that the community has recognized a certain sphere of unchecked action as belonging to him, within which he can do as he pleases, that secures the citizen in his rights. Outside that sphere he must not only obey, but coöperate with the executive. It is his duty to aid in preventing a crime, in suppressing disorder, in arresting an offender. A sheriff exercising his functions can call on all persons present to support him, and they are bound to support him, a wholesome and, if you like, a truly democratic doctrine. The law is the people's law, not only in its origin, but also for the purpose of its enforcement.

These two principles go together. The one is a safeguard against Tyranny, *i.e.* the absolute and capri-

cious will of the governing power, the other against Anarchy, *i.e.* that unrestrained and unlimited exercise of the will of each and every citizen which must result in collision, disorder, and the triumph of mere force.

It may be suggested that these two principles are not peculiar to the Common Law, because no law could grow up, and no state could prosper, without both of them. That is true. But there have been systems of law in which sometimes the one, sometimes the other, principle was imperfectly developed, and (so to speak) overweighted by the other. The former principle especially (viz. the recognition of the rights of the citizen) has often been quite too weak to secure due protection to the individual man. It is the clearness with which both have been recognized, the fulness with which both have been developed, in the mediæval and post-mediæval English law that constitute its highest merit.

From the equal recognition of these two principles there follows a third characteristic. If principles apparently antagonistic are to be reconciled, there must be a precise delimitation of their respective bounds and limits. The law must be definite and exact. Now precision, definiteness, exactitude are features of the Common Law so conspicuous that the unlearned laity sometimes think they have been developed to an inordinate degree. They have made the law not only very minute, but very technical. But of this anon.

With the love of precision there naturally goes a love

of certainty and fixity. The spirit of the Common Law is a conservative spirit, which stands upon what exists, distrusting change, and refusing change until change has become inevitable. "*Stare super antiquas vias:*" "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*" (the words of the barons at the council of Merton in Henry the Third's day): "It is better that the law should be certain than that the law should be just," these were favourite dicta among the lawyers of the old school in England.

The respect for what has been settled, and the desire that what has been settled should be definite in its terms, import a deference to precedent. No legal system, not even the Mussulman law, grounded on Koranic interpretation and traditions, has ever gone so far in obedience to what was ruled in the past as the Common Law does in basing itself on cases judicially determined and recorded.

Judicial decisions are given, legal precedents are made, as events bring them. There is no order among them except the chronological. Thus a law constructed out of them is necessarily wanting in symmetry. The Common Law is admittedly unsymmetrical. Some might call it, as a whole, confused, however exact may be the propositions that compose it. There are general principles running through it, but these are often hard to follow, so numerous are the exceptions. There are inconsistencies in it, where decisions apparently conflicting have been given by different authorities at different times. There are gaps in it, where no decision

has happened to cover a particular set of circumstances. Thus there has been formed a tendency among lawyers to rate principles, or, let us say, philosophical and logical views of the law, very low compared with any positive declaration made by a court. The maxim, "An ounce of precedent is worth a pound of principle," still expresses the attitude of the profession in England, and very possibly here also.

With the love of certainty and definiteness there goes a respect for the forms of legal proceedings and for the precise verbal expression given to rules. This is a quality which belongs to most legal systems in their earlier stages. It was very highly developed in the early days of Rome and the early days of Iceland. In the Common Law it held its ground with great pertinacity till quite recently, both in England and here; nor am I sure that it is not now strong in some of your states, possibly stronger than in the England of to-day, in which, especially since the sweeping changes made by the Judicature Act of 1873, the old distinctions between forms of actions are being forgotten.

You may think that among the features that characterize our Common Law I ought to name the love of justice and also the fondness for subtle distinctions. I do not, however, dwell on the latter of these, because it belongs to all legal systems that reach a certain point of development, and is even more evident in some others than in our own. The robust common sense which is inherent in the Common Law seldom encouraged

fine distinctions to go beyond a certain point. As for the love of justice, it belongs to mankind generally, and to all systems of law. Such differences as may be noted between different peoples consist not in the reality of the wish to give every man his due, — *suum cuique tribuere*, — but in the self-control which prevents emotional impulses from overriding justice, in the practical good sense which perceives that to allow the forms of law to be neglected or unusually harsh treatment to be inflicted where a cause or a person happens to be unpopular, is really to injure the community by impairing the respect for law itself and the confidence in its administration. Englishmen and Americans may claim that although, like others, they have sometimes lapsed from the right path, they have, on the whole, restrained their passions from trampling upon justice, and upon the regular methods of securing justice, better than most nations have done.

The foregoing characteristics of our Common Law are submitted for your consideration, not as being the only ones which belong to it, for others might be added, but as being characteristics so broad and salient as to make it comparatively easy to discuss them and to endeavour to account for them. Some are found in all systems that have reached a high level of scientific development, being indeed qualities without which no system could be deemed excellent. Only one other system, the Roman, possesses them in so large a measure as to deserve comparison.

To what are we to ascribe these features distinctive of the Common Law? The in-dwelling qualities of the race of men who built it up must have been a principal and indeed the primary cause. The mind and character of a people are indeed more exactly and adequately expressed in and through its law and institutions than they are through its literature or its art. For books and paintings are the work of individual men, many of whom may have been greatly influenced by foreign ideas or foreign models; and some of whom, powerful enough to influence their successors, may not have been typical representatives of the national genius. But laws are the work of the nation as a whole, framed indeed by the ruling class, and shaped in their details by a professional class, but to a large extent created by other classes also, because (except in those few cases where a conqueror imposes his own law on the vanquished) the rules which govern the relations of the ordinary citizen must be such as suit and express the wishes of the ordinary citizen, being in harmony with his feelings and fitted to meet the needs of his daily life. They are the offspring of custom, and custom is the child of the people. Thus not only the constructive intellect of the educated and professional class but the half-conscious thought and sentiment of the average man go to the making and moulding of the law. It is the outcome of what German philosophers call the legal mind (*Rechtsbewusstsein*, or Legal Consciousness) of a nation.

But law is the product not of one or two generations, but of many. National character is always insensibly changing, and changing more rapidly the more advanced in civilization the nation becomes, the greater the vicissitudes in its fortunes, and the more constant or intimate its intercourse with other nations. Hence institutions become the expression of historical influences as well as of those original gifts and tendencies of a race or a people which we observe when it emerges from prehistoric darkness. Time and circumstances coöperate in the work. Law is the result of the events which mould a nation as well as of the mental and moral qualities with which the nation started on its career. These two elements are so mixed and blent in their working that it is hard to describe them separately. Nevertheless let us try. Let us begin by a glance at the inborn talents and temper of the English people, and then see how the course of history trained their powers and guided their action.

All the Teutons are strong, resolute, even wilful; and the Low Germans and Northmen were the most active and forceful branches of the Teutonic stock. Every man knew his rights and was ready to assert his rights by sword and axe. Not only so, — he was ready, where society had become advanced enough for courts to grow up, to assert his rights by legal process also. Read the Icelandic Sagas, in which records of killings and of lawsuits are mingled in about equal proportion, if you wish to realize how keen was the

sense each freeman had of his own claims, and how resolute he was in enforcing them. Never was there a people more fond of legal strife than were the Norwegians and Danes, who spread themselves over Eastern Britain in the ninth and tenth centuries, or than their brethren, whom Rolf Ganger led to the conquest of the northern coast of France in the ninth century. The Norman peasant is proverbial to-day in France for his litigiousness.

In this self-assertiveness, however, there is no disregard of duly constituted authority. The primitive Teuton had his Folk Mót in England, his Thing in Norway and Iceland. He was loyal to his chief or king. He felt his duty to the community wherein he lived. He did not always obey the law, but he respected the law, and felt the need of its enforcement.

It belongs to a strong race to have the power of self-control. Our forefathers were fierce and passionate, like other half-civilized peoples, but they had this power, and they restrained themselves from overriding the process of law and letting passion work injustice many a time when men of other races, Greeks, or Slavs, or Celts, would have yielded to their impulses. So too they had a latent solidity and steadiness which indisposed them to frequent or fitful change. Compared with their Slavonic neighbours to the east and their Celtic neighbours to the west, races at least as intellectually quick and intellectually fertile, the Teutons have always been of a conservative temper. This may

be — so we like to think — a mark of good sense and patience, or it may be an attribute of dogged and slowly moving minds. Anyhow, there it is, and (as already remarked) it is, for the purposes of law-building, a merit of the first magnitude.

Further, the mediæval English mind was of a practical rather than of a speculative type. It had plenty of acumen, plenty of logical vigour. But it did not run to the spinning of theories or the trying of experiments. This has been characteristic more or less of the English and the American mind, and, I may add, of the Low German or Dutch mind, ever since, as compared with the Scotch mind and with that of our brethren the High Germans of the European Continent. For those who were destined to create a great and complex legal system, it was an excellent quality. Speaking to an American audience, no one would venture to disparage ingenuity. The jurist needs it daily. But the jurist who is making the law needs caution and practical judgment even more; and with all your ingenuity, it has never been your way either to run ahead of actual needs or to pull up the plant to see whether the roots are sprouting.

Here, then, we have noted five characteristics of those to whom we owe the Common Law. They were strong men and pugnacious men; they respected authority; they could at need control their impulses; they were not given to change; they were not fertile in theory or invention. With these qualities they

started on the work of making law. How did the conditions of England from the twelfth to the eighteenth century affect them, and so guide their action as to bring out in the fulness of time the legal product we have inherited, a fruit very different from that which ripened under the sun of Germany or France?

The English king in the Middle Ages was strong, stronger than the kings of France or Castile or Aragon. He was from the days of Henry II onwards effective master (except for brief intervals) of the whole realm. He was able to make his executive authority feared even if it was sometimes disobeyed. His writ ran everywhere. His judges travelling through the country brought the law to the sight of all men.

His aim, and that of his judges, was during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to build up one law, instead of the variety of the diverse customs such as had grown up in Continental Europe. Thus he and they must needs strive to make the law clear and certain. Such it became. Here and there, as in Kent and in some old boroughs, local land customs survived, yet not enough to mar the unity and definiteness of the law as a whole.

From good motives as well as bad ones, the king was tempted to stretch his authority, and make himself almost a despot. He was so strong over against the barons that they were obliged from time to time to ally themselves with the church — usually their antagonist — and with the middle class of small landholders and

burghers. This alliance was in the interests of freedom and of a limitation of royal power. To it we owe Magna Charta, and the long line of restrictions thereafter imposed on arbitrary government. Now Magna Charta is the declaration of one generally binding law. It enounces and consecrates, and is itself, LEX TERRAE, the law of the whole land, and of all persons therein. It is for us of the English stock the parent of all instruments defining the relation of citizen and sovereign, be the sovereign a king or the people. It is the ancestor of your own federal constitution, as well as of the "Bill of Rights" provisions of all State constitutions.

Just as the barons and the people were obliged to base themselves upon the solemnly made engagements of the Crown as the evidence of their immunities, so the Crown, acting through its judges, not being strong enough to make its own policy or view of what was right prevail as a mere exercise of the sovereign's own will, and desiring to have some positive authority to set against the texts quoted from imperial or papal law by the civilians or the canonists, was forced to rely upon acts previously done, and decisions previously delivered, and to found the law upon them. Thus both parties were led to appeal to and lay stress upon precedents. The rights which the law enforced were, as usually happens in early times, much involved with the procedure for enforcing them; and the desire to secure uniformity of procedure in the king's courts led to the constant citation of judgments delivered on

previous occasions. Under these conditions, and favoured by them, there grew up that habit of recording and following decided cases which is so eminently and indeed uniquely characteristic of the Common Law.

The balance of forces in English mediæval society appeared most clearly in the relations of lord and vassal. Each had unquestionable rights, and these rights were apt to come into conflict. The adjustment of conflicting claims gave constant occupation to the lawyers and the judges, and, while forming habits of exact thought and precise statement, it created a great mass of technical learning. The older English land law was indeed as intricate and elaborately artificial a body of rules as the world has ever seen. Though modified in some important points, it lasted with us until less than a century ago, when it began to be so cut about by amending statutes as to lose its ancient logical cohesion. For some reason or in some way which is not clear to most of us, many of its technical doctrines were held not applicable to land in North America, so you have escaped most of the complications it handed down to us. But the process which produced it left a deep impress on the law generally. Some of the faults, some also of the merits, of the Anglo-American way of handling legal questions are due to the ancient land rights and the procedure followed in trying the issues that arose under them.

English freedom, in the particular legal form it took, sprang out of feudal conditions. In reality, it was

older than feudality, and had lost some of its simple Teutonic breadth when overgrown by feudal notions. But the structure of parliament and the right of parliament alone to impose taxes sprang out of the relation of the king (as feudal lord) to his tenants, which is in a certain sense a private relation as well as a political one. It is hardly too much to say that what we call the public or constitutional law of England is a part of, as it has certainly grown out of, the private law. Some of our fundamental constitutional principles have been established by decisions given in private suits. And although you in America can draw a sharper line between public and private law than can be drawn in England, because you have a written or rigid constitution, and we have, strictly speaking, no constitution at all, still the old character of the Common Law remains plainly visible in the fact that many of the most important questions that have arisen on the construction of your federal and state constitutions have arisen in suits between private parties, where the primary issue before the court was one in which the rights of those parties had to be determined.

I have referred to exactitude of thought and expression as one of the excellencies which we justly admire in the sages of the Common Law and particularly in the deliverances of the judges. That exactitude has become a feature of all our legal thinking and legal writing, and has in particular made us separate more clearly than the lawyers of most other nations do,

considerations strictly legal from those which belong to the sphere of morality or sentiment. We owe this in no small measure to the old system of pleading which, slowly matured and refined to an excessive point of technicality, gave to the intellects of many generations of lawyers a very sharp edge. That system had the great merit of impressing upon them the need for distinguishing issues of law from issues of fact. The first lesson a student learns is to consider in any given case whether he ought to plead or to demur. It is a lesson of value to all of us in our daily life. Half the confusions of thought in the world, certainly not excepting the world of political discussion, arise because men have not learnt to ask themselves whether the issue is one of fact or of principle. "Do I deny the facts or do I dispute the inference? Ought I to plead or to demur?"

It is a remarkable fact that although the Common Law came into existence at a time when personal slavery was not extinct in England, and had reached an advanced state of development before prædial slavery or villenage had died out, the existence of slavery in the North American colonies had nothing to do with either English institution, but arose quite independently in colonial days. Though villenage existed at Common Law, and is said to have lasted into the seventeenth century, personal slavery does not, I think, stand recorded and recognized in any English Common Law book of authority or in any decided case, and I suppose that

the incidents of negro slavery in the colonies, doubtless practically assumed before anyone thought of specific legal sanction, were either parts of the general Common Law of personal property or else rested upon statutes of those colonies in which slavery existed. It may be observed in passing that although one might think that the recognition of the rights of man as man (*i.e.* as a human being) would be clearest and fullest in a country where there were no slaves, this may not in fact have been the case. Where some men are free and others are slaves, the status of freedom may have been conceived more sharply as a positive status, and the rights belonging to the individual as a freeman may have stood out more strongly, because he is legally exempt from treatment to which the slave is liable. As a freeman, he is *prima facie* the equal, as a holder of private civil rights, of all other free men, even though the latter may belong to a specially privileged caste. The history of the Roman law of persons lends colour to this view.

On no feature of the Common Law did your ancestors lay more stress than on the jury, and the right of every citizen to be tried by his peers. This right had been a bulwark of English freedom, and was deemed in the eighteenth century to be essential thereto. Yet it deserves to be noticed that the jury was an institution which, in the form familiar to us, arose almost by accident. The legal genius, or instinct, of the mediæval English may, however, be credited with the use they

made of this accident. Darwin has shown how a variation from a type which in its origin is accidental, that is to say, due to some cause operative in an individual organism which is beyond our power of enquiry (do we quite know what we mean when we talk of chance?), may become the source of a new type possessing advantages which enable it to survive and prevail and reach a higher level of efficiency than the original type possessed. So it may be not too fanciful to suggest that where a political or legal germ happens to fall in a fertile soil the virtue of the soil enables it to spring up and become the parent of a flourishing progeny. Our ancestors moulded the jury into an instrument serviceable not only for discovering the truth but for securing freedom and justice, freedom because it was practically independent of royal power, justice because, although it was sometimes intimidated, and occasionally even corrupted, it was usually less liable to be tampered with by those malign influences which might poison the mind or pervert the action of a judge in days when public opinion was ill-informed or weak. We, in England, have no longer that confidence in the wisdom of a jury in certain classes of civil actions which we once had, and the tendency of recent years has been to narrow the sphere of its employment. But the institution of the jury has had some notably beneficent results. Along with those rules of pleading to which I have already referred, it helped to form in us a keener sense of the need for separating issues of

law from issues of fact than exists anywhere outside England and America, and it has trained us how to draw this distinction in every case we have to advise on or to argue. It has tended to keep judicial deliverances of the law within due limits of brevity, because when a judge finds himself tempted to wander off from a determination of legal points into the general merits of the case, he is reminded that the latter are for the jury, and that his natural human tendency to do what he thinks substantial justice must be restrained by the sense that his business is to declare the law and be content with advising the jury on the facts. It formed the practice of using, at a criminal trial, evidence almost exclusively oral, and thus incidentally it prevented both those secret examinations of the accused person and that recourse to torture which were common in Continental Europe. It confirmed the ancient usage of requiring judicial proceedings to be conducted in public, and thus kept subject to the watchful eye of popular opinion. And it mitigated that harshness of the penal law which belongs to all comparatively rude societies and was not removed from the English statute book till within the memory of persons still living. When men were liable to be hanged for small thefts, English juries refused to convict for such offences, and their refusal hastened the march of legislative reform.

The mention of penal matters suggests a word as to the extreme technicality of the older Common Law. Frequently as that technicality frustrated the doing of

substantial justice in civil cases, it had its advantages in criminal proceedings. Often a prisoner who did not deserve a severe sentence — and no doubt sometimes also a prisoner who did — escaped on some technical ground. The Common Law, which had (as already remarked) the great merit of forbidding the use of torture, abominably frequent in Continental Europe and practised even in the free cantons of Switzerland till near the end of the eighteenth century, had also the merit of forming in the legal profession the feeling that an accused person ought to have a fair run for life or freedom. A sportsmanlike instinct grew up, like that which gives the hunted deer "law", or a fair start, or that which forbids certain tricks by which a game at cricket might be won. A judge who bullied a prisoner was condemned by professional opinion. A prosecuting counsel who overstated his case or betrayed a personal eagerness to convict the prisoner, incurred the displeasure of his brethren and was sure to hear of it afterwards. I have often been struck in our criminal courts by the self-restraint which experienced counsel impose on themselves when conducting a case, as well as by the care which the judge takes to let the prisoner have the benefit of every circumstance in his favour. Here one feels the tradition of the Common Law, which insisted on protecting the individual against the state. How different things are in some parts of the European continent is known to you all. It is partly because this good tradition has been so well

preserved that we have in England found that convicted prisoners need comparatively few opportunities for raising points of law after the trial. The trial itself almost always secures for them whatever justice requires, though of course there is a power of raising for subsequent argument points reserved.[1]

The mediæval Common Law has been charged with one serious defect, that of lacking elasticity and the power of expansion. It halted at a certain point. It refused to deal, or I should perhaps say, its machinery proved incapable of dealing, with certain sets of cases, and left them to be taken up by the crown acting through the Lord Chancellor. I cannot stop to enquire how far this was due to an excess of conservatism in our forefathers, how far to the circumstances of the time, which, while circumscribing the action of the king through one set of machinery, left him free to act through another. Anyhow, the result was that the huge system which we call Equity grew up side by side with the Common Law, remained distinct from it in England until the Judicature Act of 1873, and I believe remains, in some states and to some extent, still distinct from it in the United States. In a broad sense, however, although, speaking technically, we distinguish Common Law from Equity, we may include Equity within the term Common Law, when we

[1] In the present session of Parliament (1907) an Act has been passed providing for an appeal, under certain circumstances, in criminal cases.

use this latter term to distinguish the law of England and America from the Roman law of the European continent, or of Louisiana and Spanish America. And it must not be forgotten that not only had Equity become a thoroughly positive system and a technical system by the time when the North American colonies were founded, but also that it had been largely influenced by the same historical environment and had been moulded by the same national tendencies as had governed the growth of the law administered in the Common Law courts. How much of its own precision and certainty the older system had given to the younger system may be seen by whoever will compare English Equity with the civil law of most European countries in the seventeenth century.

I have kept to the last the most striking of all the historical conditions which determined the character of Anglo-American law. England (or rather Britain) was an island. The influences which governed the development of law in the European mainland reached her in an attenuated form. The English people had the chance of making a new start and of creating a system of law for themselves, instead of merely adopting or adapting the Roman jurisprudence, as did, at various times and in diverse ways, the French, the Spaniards, the Germans, and (ultimately and indirectly) nearly all modern peoples except those of English stock. We must not indeed exaggerate the originality

of our law. It is not as original as that of Iceland would probably have been, had Iceland gone on developing the legal customs she had formed by the middle of the thirteenth century. It is not original in the sense of owing little or nothing to foreign sources, for a great deal of law flowed from Roman fountains into the English stream. When (according to Gervase of Tilbury) the Lombard Vacarius taught the Roman law in the reign of King Stephen at Oxford — this is among the very first traces we have of that famous university — we cannot suppose that his hearers were confined to those who wished to practise in the ecclesiastical courts. In the next century we find Bracton, one of our earliest legal writers, copying freely from the Roman law books, though he frequently also contradicts them when English usage differed. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the ecclesiastical chancellors who built up the system of Equity were much influenced by Roman legal doctrines, drawn largely through canonist channels. Still the fact remains that the law of England was a new creation, not an adaptation of the law of the Empire. It has a character and a quality which are all its own; and its free spirit and tendencies have always stood out in marked contrast to the despotic spirit and tendencies which France, Spain, and Germany inherited from the imperial jurisprudence. To that jurisprudence it was, during the Middle Ages and the centuries that followed, as much superior in respect for freedom and in what

may be called a popular flavour as it was inferior in respect of the philosophic breadth and elegance of the ancient sources on which that imperial jurisprudence was founded. The use of the jury, the far larger place assigned to oral evidence, the sharper separation of issues of law from issues of fact, are among the most salient points in which its distinctive and individual quality appears.

I had intended to have given you a brief sketch of the earlier history of the ancient Roman law for the sake of showing how the characteristics of that great rival system sprang from features in the national character of the Romans in their Republican days, not unlike those which marked our ancestors. The Romans too had a genius for law. Less imaginative, less artistic, less acute in speculation, altogether less intellectually versatile and alert than were the Greeks, they had a greater capacity for building up and bringing to an almost finished and certainly unsurpassed perfection a body of legal principles and rules. They possessed this capacity in respect of gifts like those of our ancestors. They realized clearly the rights of the individual as against the state. They were conservative. They had the power of self-control. They were filled with practical good sense. But this great subject is too great to be dealt with at the end of an address, and I must be content with recommending it to the attention of those who are interested in these studies as throwing much light upon the general tendencies which have

governed the growth of law. The best illustrations of English legal history are to be found in Roman legal history.

I have so far been speaking of the Common Law as a product of the English intellect under certain peculiar historical conditions. But if it was a result, it was also a cause. It reacted powerfully upon the people that made it. Just as the habit of physical or mental exercise strengthens the body or the mind where native energy has made exercise enjoyable, so the Common Law, once created, began to develop further and give more definite form to those very qualities of the nation whereto its own features were due. Under its influence the national mind became more and more permeated by the spirit of legality. It grew accustomed to resist arbitrary power, but as it did this in defence of prescriptive right, it did not lapse into revolutionary ways. Thus there was formed the idea of a government of limited powers, and the habit, when anyone claimed obedience, of requiring him to show his title to demand it. If it be asked why should not such a conception of the legal character of all authority belong to, and arise in, every duly matured system of law, the answer is that the case of England stood alone in this respect, that the law came early to be recognized as being something more than an expression of the will of the monarch. It sprang partly out of the old customs, partly (and more as time went on) from an assembly which was national, although not yet popular.

It did not descend, as in Continental Europe, from an ancient and foreign wisdom or authority. It was English. It came not from above, but from all around. In England, moreover, there were among the men who knew and practised the law not a few persons of independent social standing. They were largely the lesser landholders and the younger sons or nephews of some of the larger landholders, and so they formed a link between the nobles and the middle classes. Unlike the lawyers of France, those of England did not generally depend on the Crown, and they were ready on occasion to oppose it. Thus, although the people at large knew little of the details of the law, the spirit of independent legality was diffused through the nation, and legality was not the docile servant of power as it became in countries where both physical force and the function of making or declaring the law were in the hands of the executive ruler.

How great a part the conception of the legal rights of the subject or citizen against the Crown or the state power played in English and American history, is known to you all, nor need I dwell on the capital importance for the whole political system of the United States of that doctrine of limited powers which has been so admirably worked out in your constitutions, nor of that respect for a defined legal right which supports their provisions. The life of every nation rests mainly on what may be called its fixed ideas, those ideas which have become axioms in the mind of every

citizen. They are stronger than fundamental laws, because it is they that give to fundamental laws their strength. They are, as the poet says, "the hidden bases of the hills." Now it was mainly by the Common Law that these fixed and fundamental ideas were moulded, whereon the constitutional freedom of America, as of England, rests.

One hundred and thirty-one years have now passed since the majestic current of the Common Law became divided into two streams which have ever since flowed in distinct channels. Water is naturally affected by the rock over or the soil through which it flows, but these two streams have hitherto preserved almost the same tint and almost the same flavour. Many statutes have been enacted in England since 1776, and many more enacted here, but the character of the Common Law remains essentially the same, and it forms the same mental habits in those who study and practise it. An American counsel in an English court, or an English counsel in an American court, feels himself in a familiar atmosphere, and understands what is going on, and why it is going on, because he is to the manner born. You read and quote our law reports, though they are nowadays too largely filled by decisions on recent statutes; we read and quote yours, though embarrassed by the enormous quantity of the food (not all of it equally nutritious) which you annually present to our appetite. In nothing, perhaps, does the substantial identity of the two branches of the old stock

appear so much as in the doctrine and practice of the law, for the fact that many new racial elements have gone to the making of the American people causes in this sphere very little difference. It is a bond of union and of sympathy whose value can hardly be overrated. An English visitor who has himself been trained to the law can find few keener pleasures than that which my friends, Lord Justice Kennedy, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Frederick Pollock (together with your other English legal visitors), and I enjoy in being here to-day among so many eminent members of our own profession and in seeing how influential and how respected a place that profession holds, and has always held, in the United States. It is a bond of sympathy not least because it is a source of common pride. There is nothing of which you and we may be more justly proud than that our common forefathers reared this majestic fabric which has given shelter to so many generations of men and from which there have gone forth principles of liberty by which the whole world has profited.

The law of a nation is not only the expression of its character, but a main factor in its greatness. What the bony skeleton is to the body, what her steel ribs are to a ship, that to a State is its Law, holding all the parts fitly joined together so that each may retain its proper place and discharge its proper functions. The Common Law has done this for you and for us in such wise as to have helped to form the mind and habits as well of the individual citizens as of the

whole nation. Parts of it these private citizens cannot understand; and when that is so they had better not try, but be content to seek your professional advice. But it is all their own. They can remould it if they will. Where a system of law has been made by the people and for the people, where it conforms to their sentiments and breathes their spirit, it deserves and receives the confidence of the people. So may it ever be both in America and in England.

THE CONDITIONS AND METHODS OF LEGISLATION

ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE NEW YORK STATE BAR ASSOCIATION, JANUARY, 1908.

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THE subject on which I have to address you is far removed from any of those thoughts with which the political and financial excitement of the moment fills the thoughts of the legal practitioner either in the rural parts of the State, or here in New York City, where the financial barometer rises and falls so quickly, and where the lawyer is often summoned to administer spiritual consolation to some of his clients in the part of the city where that barometer can best be watched. But it may have some interest for an audience which is not wholly absorbed in its professional practice, but has also to watch and study the machinery of legislation as it is at work from year to year.

The immense increase in the volume of legislation during the last half century is one of the salient features of our time. Mr. Choate has told you that more than five thousand statutes were passed in this country during the last two years. But the phenomenon is not confined to this country. Various causes may be assigned for it. It may be due to the swift changes in economic and social conditions which have called forth

new laws to deal with those facts. Pessimists may perhaps ascribe it to the spread of new evils or the increase of old evils which the State is always attempting by one expedient after another to repress. I suppose this is what Tacitus meant when he wrote "*Corruptissima republica plurimæ leges.*" Or the optimist may tell us that it is an evidence of that reforming zeal which is resolved to use the power of the State and the law for extirpating ancient faults and trying to make everyone happier. Which of these or of other possible explanations is the true one, I will not stop to consider. But the fact that the output of legislation has of late been incomparably greater than in any previous age — greater not only absolutely, but in proportion to the population of the civilized nations — suggests a consideration of the forms and methods of law-making as a timely topic.

In no country, moreover, is the output of statutes so large as in the United States, where, besides Congress, forty-six [1] State legislatures are busily at work turning out laws on all imaginable subjects, with a faith in the power of law to bless mankind which few historians or philosophers, and still fewer experienced lawyers, will be found to share. Nevertheless, such faith is a testimony to the hopefulness of your people, and no one can wish that any people should ever be less hopeful.

In modern free countries, where laws are enacted by representative assemblies, where the economic and

[1] Now (1913) forty-eight.

social questions to be dealt with are generally similar, and where the masses of the people are moved, broadly speaking, by the same impulses, the problem of how to make legislation satisfactory in substance and in form is virtually the same problem everywhere. Accordingly, the light which the experience of one country affords is pretty sure to be useful to other countries. These we call private acts. I will try to indicate some points in which the experience of methods tried in Britain may deserve to be studied by you.

In the United States your enactments are all of one kind, be they Federal laws or State laws: all emanate directly from the legislature, and all are discussed and passed in the same way. In Great Britain we have found it desirable to divide enactments into three classes: First we have public general statutes passed by Parliament. Secondly, we have enactments of local or personal application affecting the rights of particular areas or men, or particular business undertakings. Thirdly, we have enactments intended to be of temporary application, or at any rate such as to require amendment from time to time in order to adjust them to changing conditions, so that they are really rather in the nature of executive orders than to be classified among permanent laws. Orders of this executive kind are now made not directly by Parliament, but either by the Crown in the Privy Council, upon some few matters that are still left within the ancient prerogative of the Crown, or else under statutory powers entrusted

by Parliament either to the Crown in Council or to some administrative department. (I believe that in France, and in Germany also, such orders are not made by the supreme legislature.) There is also a larger class of rules or ordinances of a somewhat wider, though not universal, application, which being of an administrative nature require from time to time to be varied. Such rules or ordinances are, in England, now usually made by authorities to whom power in that behalf has been specially delegated by Parliament. Some, including those which affect the Crown colonies, are made by the Crown in Council. These we call Orders in Council, and they include a large number of ordinances made for the government of the Crown Colonies which do not possess self-government, being nearly all inhabited by native populations not deemed qualified for its exercise. Similar to these are the Rules or Regulations dealing with administrative matters which are issued by some of the administrative departments for the guidance of officials and of local authorities, under a power conferred in that behalf by Parliament. These also require to be varied from time to time, and are therefore not fitted to be dealt with by Parliament. With these one may class the rules relating to legal procedure in the Courts, which are made by the Rules Committee, consisting of Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and other representatives of the legal profession, chosen for the purpose and acting under a power given by statute. The advantage of

this plan is that it enables us from time to time to modify our legal procedure without the necessity of referring the matter to Parliament.

In this way there has been built up a large body of what may be called subsidiary law. It has statutory effectiveness, because all of it has been made under the powers of some statute, although made not directly by Parliament itself, but under delegated parliamentary authority. These subsidiary enactments are published in volumes called "Statutory Rules and Orders." They form a large collection quite distinct from that of the statutes. Thus the dimensions of our statute book have been kept down while the delegation of legislative power has materially reduced the labour of Parliament.

Let me now return to the second class, viz., acts passed directly by Parliament but not of general application. This class includes enactments which, though they apply only to particular places or persons, and are thus not parts of the general law, such as railway acts, canal, gas and water, and electric lighting acts, acts giving specific powers to municipalities, and so forth. They are sharply distinguished from General Public acts in the method by which they are passed. They are brought in and read a first time by motion of a member in the House (either Lords or Commons) and upon a petition by private persons. Notices have to be publicly given of them some two months before the usual beginning of a parliamentary session in order to

call the attention of all persons possibly interested. They are advertised in the newspapers of such parts of the country as they affect in order that every person who desires to oppose them may have an opportunity of entering a notice of opposition and being heard upon it. When they are brought in they are examined by officials called the Examiners of Standing Orders, who see that they comply with the general rules which Parliament has prescribed, and in particular that all the regulations with regard to notices have been duly observed. When they have passed the Examiners of Standing Orders, being shown to have complied with all the rules prescribed in that behalf, they are brought up for second reading and usually pass that stage without discussion or division.

If, however, a private bill raises some large question of public interest, it may be opposed upon second reading. For instance, if it proposes to take, for the purpose of building a railroad, common land over which a number of commoners have rights of pasture, and to close paths which the public are entitled to use, it is open to any member to give notice of opposition and to propose its rejection on grounds of general policy. So again if it relates to electric power or light and raises the question whether electricity shall be supplied to a large area by a municipality or by a private company, as happened recently when a large industrial corporation sought power from Parliament to create an enormous power establishment to supply

electricity to every part of London, then again that question would be fully debated on second reading as being a question of public policy on which Parliament ought to pronounce, laying down a precedent for similar cases likely to arise thereafter. Such cases are, however, uncommon, and most private bills are sent as a matter of course to what we call a private bill committee.

This body usually consists of four members, but may be and, in the case of very important bills, often is larger. The Chairman is always a man of some parliamentary experience and business capacity. We have a panel of senior members, from which the Chairmen are taken, and they become by practice expert and skilful in dealing with these matters. All the members of such a committee make a declaration that they have no private interest in the matter dealt with by the bill, and they are required to deal with it in a purely judicial spirit, on the basis of the evidence presented and the arguments used by the lawyers who represent each side, just as in a Court of Justice. Party politics never comes into the matter.

No one is permitted to address private solicitations to the members of the committee with a view to influence their decision. Even a member of the House privately approaching or trying to induce any member of the committee to vote in a particular way on the bill, would be considered to have transgressed the rules, and be severely

condemned by his fellow-members. In point of fact, the thing does not happen. These private bill committees, whether they decide right or wrong, because they sometimes err like other people, are always understood to be impartial and honest. In that way the procedure gives general satisfaction. Neither is there any class of persons whose business it is to "lobby" and endeavour to persuade members to vote for or against a measure. The conduct of private bills is in the hands of a body of regular practitioners who are called parliamentary agents. They are often, but not always, attorneys at law. They are an organized body who are subject to discipline, bound by a code of rules, and obliged to observe those rules just as strictly as any other kind of legal practitioner.

Under this system all our railways, and such other public undertakings as require statutory sanction, have been constructed, and have had their legal powers from time to time increased or varied. It has worked well in every respect but one. It has been costly, for where a private bill is hotly contested, the fees paid to agents and counsel sometimes mount up to huge sums. But it has been administered not only with honesty, but with seldom even a suspicion; and it has relieved the two Houses of a vast mass of troublesome detail by leaving this work to judicial committees acting in a judicial way. It has, moreover, the advantage of giving every private bill the certainty of being examined on its merits, and its merits only. Being outside the

struggle for life which goes on among public bills, seldom encroaching on their time, and not having its time encroached on by them, and being treated in a different way, the pressure of public business does not prevent a private bill (except in the rare cases where a large public issue is raised) from being sent to and considered by a committee, and, if it pass the committee, being reported to the House and passed there in the course of one session. The committee may reject a bill, but cannot get rid of it quietly by omitting to report. Finally, it relieves members of Parliament from being obliged to spend time and toil in advocating or opposing bills affecting their constituencies, a process in which more enmities may be incurred than favour gained. Having, during twenty-seven years spent in the House of Commons, represented two great industrial communities, I can bear witness to the enormous gain to a member in being free from local interests and local pressure. I never had any solicitation whatever to trouble me from any colleague in regard to any private bill. It now and then, though very rarely, happened that some constituent or group of constituents wrote to me and said, "Such and such a bill is pending in the House of Commons, or House of Lords; we are very much interested in it and should be glad if you could help." I had always an answer which was easy, and which had the further merit of being entirely correct and true; namely, that I was not permitted by the rules of the House of Commons to

endeavour to use any influence upon any member of the committee which was considering that bill. The most I could have done would have been to tell the Chairman publicly, without any secrecy, that this was a bill of great importance, in which some of my constituents were interested, and to beg that it should have the fullest and most careful attention from the committee. But as for trying to exert any influence either for or against its passing, I should have broken our rules had I tried to do so.

No one who has not been a member of a legislative body can know what a relief it is to be able to free one's self from any solicitations of this kind.

I dwell upon this point in order to explain to you how it is the British Parliament has been able to deal with the great mass of local legislation imposed on it by the principle that special statutory authority is required for undertakings which involve the compulsory taking of land or the creation of what is practically a monopoly. But the relief given to Parliament, important as it is, has been the least among the merits of the system used. Its great service has been to provide a method in which matters involving immense pecuniary interests have been for many years past so dealt with as to raise no suspicions of corruption or unfair personal favour. And now, leaving unnoticed other details regarding these private bills, let me pass on to the larger question of public general legislation, which has most interest for you as

lawyers though it suffers from the great amount of time absorbed by local and personal bills.

The quality of statute law may be considered in respect: first, of its Form; secondly, of its Substance.

As respects Form, you, as lawyers, know that a statute ought to be clear, concise, consistent. Its meaning should be evident, should be expressed in the fewest possible words, should contain no clause contradicting another or anything repugnant to any other provision of the statute law, except of course to such provisions as it is expressly intended to repeal.

To secure these merits three things are needed; viz., (*a*) that a bill as introduced should be skilfully drafted, (*b*) that pains should be taken to see that all amendments made during its passage are also properly drafted, and (*c*) that the wording is carefully revised at the last stage and before the bill is enacted. Of these objects the first is in Britain pretty well secured by the modern practice of having all government bills prepared by the official draftsman, who is called the Parliamentary Counsel. Nearly all our important bills, and indeed nearly all the bills of a controversial character that pass, are bills brought in by the government of the day. A private member has now, owing to the pressure of time, hardly any chance of passing legislation. Therefore, you may take it that all important legislation is prepared, and pushed through, by the government. The government has an official permanent drafting staff, consisting of two or three able and

highly trained lawyers, whose business it is to put its bills into the best shape. If they are not always perfect in form, that may not be the fault of the draftsman, because the best scientific shape is not necessarily the shape in which it is most easy to pass a bill through Parliament. The form which is given to a bill may make some difference to the amount of opposition it will excite, and a better drafted measure may either rouse more antagonism or give greater opportunities for attack than a less neatly or elegantly drafted one would encounter, and also to afford the fewest opportunities for taking divisions in committees. It is one of the rules of our Parliament that every clause has to be separately put to the vote in committee; therefore, the more clauses, the more divisions, and the more divisions, the more expenditure of time. Hence, if you put a great deal of matter into one clause, subdividing it into subsections, and parts of subsections, instead of letting each part of the matter to be enacted have a clause to itself, you have fewer debates on each clause as a whole and fewer divisions. That may explain peculiarities in the structure of recent British acts which would otherwise excite surprise. It is hardly possible that legislation, passed by a popular assembly, should attain to that high standard of scientific perfection which could be obtained at Rome, where a consul or a tribune put to the vote of the Assembly a carefully prepared measure which could not be amended, but had to be accepted or rejected as a

whole. Neither could the work be so neatly done as it was under an absolute monarch like the Roman Emperor.

Our statute law has been greatly improved in form since the office of Parliamentary draftsman was created. He has sometimes functions to discharge that require high skill and judgment. It often happens that the minister who is preparing a measure has not completely thought out all its provisions, and may not, even if he be himself a lawyer, have in his mind all the relations which the bill he desires to enact will bear to various branches of a vast and complicated system of law. The business of the Parliamentary draftsman is not only to take the ideas and plans of the minister and put them into the clearest and most concise form, but also to warn the minister of all the consequences his proposals will have upon every part of the system, and to help him to consider what is the best way in which the amendment in the law it is sought to effect can be secured and expressed. The Parliamentary draftsman has, of course, nothing to do with questions of governmental policy and stands entirely apart from party politics. He must serve every administration with equal zeal and loyalty. But if he personally is a man of real ability, who understands public questions, has mastered the particular subject he is asked to deal with, perceives its difficulties and sees how they can be met, he may give the most valuable assistance to the minister. All our ministers

gladly acknowledged what they owed to the late Sir Henry Jenkyns, who long filled the post with consummate ability, though few persons outside the narrow circle of the higher civil service had ever heard his name.

As respects amendments in committee and final revision, our English procedure is not satisfactory. There ought to be some means of correcting, before a measure finally passes, those inelegancies, redundancies, and ambiguities which the process of amending in committee usually causes. But as Parliament has, so far, refused to allow any authority outside itself to alter the wording in the smallest point, all that can be done is to use the last stage of the bill to cure such blemishes as can be discovered. Doubtless the same difficulties arise here. I am not fully informed as to how they are dealt with, but have learnt with great interest of the efforts recently made in Wisconsin, under the zealous initiative of Mr. McCarthy, and in New York State also, to supply by a bureau of legislation assistance to members of the legislature in the preparation of their bills. The value of this plan seems to have been fully recognized in both States, and the example has told upon five other States, where similar arrangements are now made by State authority for such help. I venture hope that Congress will see its way to the creation of some such office for drafting bills, so as to provide ampler data for members and render to them such legal help as they may require.

Now let us come to the Substance of legislation, and start from two propositions which everyone will admit.

1. There is in all free countries a great demand for legislation on all sorts of subjects, mainly due to the changes in economic conditions and to the impatience of reformers to have all sorts of evils dealt with by law.

2. The difficulty of framing good laws is enormous, because most countries are now occupied not merely in the comparatively easy task of repealing old laws which hampered the action of the citizens, — destruction is simple work, — but in the far harder task of creating a new set of laws which shall use the power of the community to regulate society and secure the ends which reformers and philanthropists desire. Eighty years ago Europeans thought that the great thing was to get freedom and abolish bad laws. When they had got it they were dissatisfied, and instead of simply letting everybody alone to work out his own weal or woe, on individualist principles, they presently set to work to forbid many things which had been previously tolerated and to throw upon government all sorts of new functions, more difficult and delicate than those of which they had stripped it.

Whether the disposition to increase the range of governmental action is right or wrong, I am not here to discuss. The current is, at least for the moment, irresistible, as appears from the fact that it prevails

alike in Continental Europe, in England, in the British colonies and in the United States. The demand for a profusion of legislation is inevitable; and the difficulty of having it good is undeniable. In what does the difficulty consist? In three things. First, of those who demand legislation, many do not understand what is the precise evil they desire to cure, the precise good they seek to attain. They suffer from discontent but cannot diagnose its cause. Secondly, when they can trace the evil to its source they seldom know what is the proper remedy; those who agree as to the end differ as to the means. Thirdly, the number of measures, remedial and constructive, called for is so large that it is hard to select those most urgently needed. No legislature can deal with all at once. Where many are being urged at the same time by different persons, they jostle one another, and like people jammed together in the narrow exits of a theatre, they move more slowly than if they were made to pass along in some regular order.

It would be easy to suggest, if we were drawing a new constitution for a new community, an ideal method of securing good legislation and securing it promptly. But we have actual concrete constitutions and governments to deal with, so, instead of sketching ideals, let me briefly describe the actual machinery provided in the United States and in Britain for passing statutes. This machinery differs materially in the two countries.

The American plan starts from the principle that the Legislative Department must be kept apart from the Executive. Accordingly, the administration in the National and in the State governments has neither the responsibility for preparing and proposing measures nor any legally provided means at its disposal for carrying them through Congress, though the President and the State governors can recommend them, and may sometimes by an adroit use of their influence, or by a forcible appeal to the people, secure the passing of a bill. You rely on the zeal and wisdom of the members of Congress to think out, devise, and prepare such measures as the country needs; on the committees of your assemblies to revise and amend these measures; on the general sense of the assemblies and the judgment of their presiding officers, or of a so-called "steering committee," to advance and pass those of most consequence. But should there not happen to be any member or group of members who does these things, or who does them well, there will be nobody responsible to the people for a failure to give them what they need.

We, in England, have been led by degrees to an opposite principle. The executive is with us primarily responsible for legislation and, to use a colloquial expression, "runs the whole show," the selection of topics, the gathering of information, the preparation of bills and their piloting through Parliament.

I. The requisite information is collected by the de-

partment of government to which the subject belongs, and frequently the way is paved for legislation by means of Royal Commissions or Departmental Committees appointed to take evidence and report upon topics of importance which need legislation.

II. When it comes to the actual introduction of a measure, the work of determining its substance is done by an administrative department of the government and the drafting by the government draftsman already referred to. The department supplies the matter of the bill, the latter puts it into shape. Thus both practical knowledge of the subject and professional skill for giving legal form to the measure to be enacted, are secured. All the more important measures of each session are brought in by the Ministry on their responsibility as leaders of the majority in the House of Commons. The most important, including those likely to raise party controversy, are considered by the Cabinet, sometimes also by a Cabinet committee, and sometimes at great length. I remember one case in which an important bill was altered and reprinted in twenty-two successive drafts, and another case in which a large and controversial bill occupied practically the whole time of the Cabinet during six long sittings.

Bills brought in by private members are drafted by themselves, or by some lawyer whom they employ for the purpose. Should a private member ask a Minister or a department for assistance, it would usually be

given him, assuming that the department approved the end in view.

III. Once the bill is launched, its fate depends on the amount of intelligent care the Legislature is disposed to give it and the amount of skill the Minister in charge shows in steering the boat which carries its fortunes. He has, of course, the assistance of the official draftsman and sometimes of one or more colleagues in preparing his own amendments and considering those proposed by others. He must try to get time enough reserved for its passage, the disposal of time resting with the government.

The practical result of our English system may be summed up by saying that it secures four things:

(1) A careful study of the subject before a bill is introduced.

(2) A decision by men of long political experience which out of many subjects most need to be dealt with by legislation.

(3) A careful preparation of measures, putting them into the form in which they are most likely to pass. That may not be always the best form, but there is no use in offering to Parliament something too good for such a world as the world of practical politics everywhere is.

(4) The fixing upon someone of responsibility for dealing with every urgent question. Whenever an evil has to be dealt with or a want supplied by the action of the Legislature, there is never any doubt who shall do it. The government has got not only to pro-

pose something, but to put something through, the Minister to whom it belongs having it in charge through all its stages. A government which neglects to bring in the measures urgently required, or fails through weakness to pass them, suffers in credit; and if the matter excites exceptional popular interest possibly may be turned out either by an adverse vote in the House of Commons, or by the people at the next general election.

There are some defects in the English system of Parliamentary legislation, but I need not here refer to them, for they do not affect the points I have been stating, but arise from other features of our government. The points to be specially emphasized for your consideration are that we provide adequate machinery for the preparation of measures, and that we make a small group of persons, the Cabinet, responsible for bringing them in and pushing them. This fixing of definite responsibility is perhaps the chief merit of the system.

The Cabinet is responsible because it is really a working committee of the majority of the House of Commons, which is itself directly chosen by the people. The business of the majority is to support the Administration, because it leads them, and enjoying their confidence, presumably enjoys that of the majority of the nation. If the majority withdraw their confidence, the Administration falls.

In France the method of legislation stands half-

way between the American and the English methods. The Ministry studies a subject, prepares a bill dealing with it, and launches the bill into the Chamber. There, the bill passes into the hands of a committee which amends and perhaps quite remoulds it, then returning it to the Chamber with an elaborate report. In the Chamber it is in charge, not of the Minister who proposed it, but of the committee reporter, the Ministry having no more power over its fortunes than flows from the fact that they are the leaders of the majority and can speak in its support. There are also many bills brought in by private members; and these also go to the committees and have apparently a better chance than the bills of private members have in England.

Switzerland, like the United States, but unlike France, has no Ministers as voting members of either Chamber, but the members of the Administration, which consists of seven persons elected by the Legislature, are allowed to speak and defend their policy or to advocate a measure in either the National Council or the Senate.

Both these intermediate systems lose something of the momentum which the responsibility of government for legislation gives in England, but they also reduce the merely party opposition which it has to encounter, while they give to the preparation and passing of measures the advantage of the coöperation of those whose administrative experience enables them to perceive

what is really wanted and to judge how it had best be attained.

Whether it is possible to establish in this country, consistently with the provisions of the Federal and the State Constitutions, any scheme by which the Executive can be rendered more helpful to the Legislature or by which Legislatures can be organized with a more authoritative leadership, and can more completely supervise the Administration, — this is a question which well deserves your consideration. Scientific method, which has been applied to everything else, needs in our time to be applied more fully and sedulously to the details of constitutional and political organization than has been anywhere yet done. However, if one may judge from the recent action of your States, there are certain changes already in progress. The sittings of Legislatures have been made less frequent and shorter; and as sessions grow shorter State Constitutions grow longer. Not only many subjects, but even many minor details of legislation, have been withdrawn from the Legislature by being placed in the State Constitution, which the Legislature cannot change. Direct legislation by the people finds increasing favour. Some reformers demand power for Congress to deal with topics which formerly were left entirely to the State. There is talk of amending the Federal Constitution.

Now let me try to illustrate how scientific method may be applied to the constructive part of legislation

and the arrangements of Legislatures. It may be applied to the collection of data. The facts on which laws ought to be based need to be gathered, sifted, critically examined. When studying the experiments made in other countries, not merely the text of the laws but their practical working also needs to be studied.

Take such subjects as the tariff and the law of corporations. Although in no other country have corporations raised such large and difficult problems as their growth has created here, other countries have, like you, been obliged to keep them under some control, and to prevent them from establishing oppressive monopolies. Everyone, except the monopolist, wishes to check or expunge monopolies, but nobody wants to substitute a meddling officialism. How to steer between these two evils is no easy problem, and needs careful enquiry, with an examination of the laws of other countries.

Wherever there exists a system of customs duties meant to protect domestic industries, it becomes necessary to ascertain how each duty, whether on raw materials or on the manufactured article, operates upon the manufacturer, the dealer, the consumer; and the more complex and all-embracing a tariff is, so much the greater is this need. Both these subjects are beyond the knowledge and the skill of the ordinary legislator in any country. They need special study by persons of exceptional knowledge. The same thing holds true of railroads, of mines, of factories, of sanita-

tion, of irrigation, of forest conservation, and many other topics of current interest. All must be approached in a scientific way, using the results of the experience of other countries.

Methods, too, have to be studied as well as facts. To devise and apply sound methods of legislation is equally a matter requiring careful study and a knowledge of the systems which have succeeded elsewhere. I have ventured to suggest to you that the British system deserves your study in two points. One touches the distinction to be drawn between the work proper to a supreme legislative body, and that which is better left to some administrative or judicial authority, making rules under a power delegated by the Legislature. Another relates to the still more important distinction between bills relating to local and personal matters and those which designed to affect the general law of the land. The more these local matters in which the pecuniary interests of persons or corporations are involved can be kept apart from politics, the better. They are usually fitter for a sort of investigation, judicial in its form, though not necessarily conducted by lawyers. To take them out of the ordinary business of a legislature saves legislative time, while it removes temptation. It sets the members of a legislative body free to deal with the really important general issues affecting the welfare of the people which are now crowding upon them. It helps them to appeal to the people upon those general issues rather than in

respect of what each member may have done for the locality he represents. Many of your statesmen have told me that in those States where dissatisfaction with the conduct of legislatures is expressed, that disapproval is chiefly due to their handling of local and personal bills.

Let me sum up in a few propositions, generally applicable to modern free nations, the views which I have sought to bring before you.

I. The demand for legislation has increased and is increasing both here and in all civilized countries.

II. The task of legislation becomes more and more difficult, owing to the complexity of modern civilization, the vast scale of modern industry and commerce, the growth of new modes of production and distribution that need to be regulated, yet so regulated as not to interfere with the free play of individual enterprise.

III. Many of the problems which legislation now presents are too hard for the average members of legislative bodies, however high their personal ability, because they cannot be mastered without special knowledge. (It may be added that in the United States a further difficulty arises from the fact that legal skill is often required to avoid transgressing some provision of the Federal or a State Constitution.)

IV. The above conditions make it desirable to have some organized system for the gathering and examination of materials for legislation, and especially for collecting, digesting, and making available for easy

reference the laws passed in other countries on subjects of current importance and an account of the results obtained thereby.

V. In order to secure the pushing forward of measures needed in the public interest, there should be in every Legislature arrangements by which some definite person or body of persons becomes responsible for the conduct of legislation.

VI. Every Legislature has in our days more work thrown on it than it can find time to handle properly. In order, therefore, to secure sufficient time for the consideration of measures of general and permanent applicability, such matters as those relating to the details of administration or in the nature of executive orders should be left to be dealt with by the administrative department of government, under delegated powers, possibly with a right reserved to the Legislature to disapprove regulations or orders so made.

VII. Similarly, the more detailed rules of legal procedure ought to be left to the judicial department or some body commissioned by it, instead of being regulated by statute.

VIII. Bills of a local or personal nature ought to be separated from bills of general application and dealt with in a different and quasi-judicial way.

IX. Arrangements ought to be made, as, for instance, by the creation of a drafting department connected with a Legislature or its chief committees, for the putting into proper legal form of all bills introduced.

X. Similarly, a method should be provided for rectifying in bills at the latest stage before they pass into law such errors in drafting as may have crept into them during their passage.

XI. When any bill of an experimental kind has been passed, its workings should be carefully watched and periodically reported on as respects both the extent to which it is actually enforced (or found enforcible) and the practical results of the enforcement. A department charged with the enforcement of any act would naturally be the proper authority to report.

XII. In order to enable both the Legislature and the people to learn what the statute law in force actually is, and thereby to facilitate good legislation, the statute law ought to be periodically revised, and as far as possible so consolidated as to be brought into a compact, consistent, and intelligible shape.

I venture to submit these general observations because to-day there is everywhere an unusual ferment over economic and social questions and a loud demand for all sorts of remedies, some of them crude, some useless, some few possibly pernicious. Here, in the United States, this ferment takes a form conditioned by your constitutional arrangements and your political habits. There seems to be in many quarters a belief that the State governments cannot deal with some of the large questions that interest the whole country. Yet there is also a fear to disturb the existing balance of powers and functions between the State authorities

and the National government. There is a feeling that evils exist which governments ought to deal with, and for dealing with which the existing powers of governments ought to be extended. Yet there is also a reluctance to multiply officials and a dread of anything approaching the bureaucratic paternalism of Continental Europe. We are hovering between discontent and doubt. The reforming spirit runs so strong that it would sweep off their feet any people which had not, as you have, become attached to their old institutions. So, again, there is a disposition to criticize State governments and city governments, and to appeal to good citizens, as voicing the best public opinion, to step in and do by voluntary organizations whatever useful work those governments are failing to do. But how is public opinion to be organized, concentrated, focussed? Who are the persons to give it that definite and authoritative expression, directed to concrete remedies, which will enable it to prevail? These are some of the problems which appear to be occupying your minds, as, under different forms, they occupy us in Europe. They will, doubtless, like other problems in the past which were even harder, be all solved in good time, solved all the better because there is, here in America, little of that passion which has at other times or in other countries overborne the voice of reason.

Meantime, as there is evidently a good deal of legislation before you, every improvement in the machinery of legislation and the conditions of legislation that can

be made is worth making, every light that the experience of other countries can suggest is worth receiving and using.

I once listened to an address on *Improvements needed in Modern Education*, delivered by an eminent man of science. He began by proving to us that those of his scientific brethren who assigned to our earth a life of only three or four million years were entirely mistaken, for there was every reason to believe it would last twice or thrice that length of time. From this he drew the conclusion that it really was worth while, with this long future before us, to attempt fundamental reforms in our educational system. We who heard him thought that even with only a few thousands of years to look forward to, reforms would be worth making. So to you I will say that without venturing to look even thousands of years ahead, there is before us such a prospect of an increasing demand for legislation that it is well worth while to secure by every possible device the efficiency of our legislative machinery.

The great profession to which you belong has a special call to exert in this direction its influence, which has often been exerted for the benefit of the nation. You know such weak points as there may be in the existing legislative machinery. You know them as practical men who can apply practical remedies. If you see a public benefit in separating different classes of bills and treating the special, or local and personal, bills in a different way from the public ones, you can

best judge how this should be done. You have daily experience of the trouble which arises from obscurities or inconsistencies in the statutes passed, of the wasteful litigation due to the uncertainty of the law, with all the expense and vexation which follow. You are, I hear on all hands, not satisfied with the criminal procedure in many of your States. These are matters within your professional knowledge. You can, with the authority of experts, recommend measures you deem good, and remonstrate against those that threaten mischief; and I understand that remonstrances proceeding from the Bar are frequently effective.

Some cynical critics have suggested that the legal profession regard with equanimity defects in the law which may increase the volume of law suits. The tiger, it is said, cannot be expected to join in clearing away the jungle. This unappreciative view finds little support in facts. Allowing for the natural conservatism which the habit of using technical rules induces in lawyers, and which may sometimes make them overcautious in judging proposals of change, they have, both here and in England, borne a creditable part in the amendment of the law. It is a mistake to think they profit by its defects. Where it is clear and definite, where legal procedure is prompt and not too costly, men are far more ready to resort to the Courts for the settlement of their disputes. It is the prospect of uncertainty, delay, and expense that leads them to pocket up their wrongs and endure their losses. Even, there-

fore, on the lower ground of self-interest, the Bar (except perhaps a few of its least desirable members) does not gain by a defective state of the law. But apart from this, every man who feels the dignity of his profession, who pursues it as a science, who realizes that those whose function it is thoroughly to understand and honestly to apply the law, are, if one may use the somewhat highflown phrase of a great Roman jurist, the Priests of Justice, — every such man will wish to see the law made as perfect as it can be. So, too, whoever realizes, as in the practice of your profession you must daily do, how greatly the welfare of the people depends on the clearness, the precision, and the substantial justice of the law, will gladly contribute his knowledge and his influence to furthering so excellent a work. There is no nobler calling than ours, when it is pursued in a worthy spirit.

Your profession has had a great share in moulding the institutions of the United States. Many of the most famous Presidents and Ministers and leaders in Congress have been lawyers. It must always hold a leading place in such a government as yours. You possess opportunities beyond any other section of the community for forming and guiding and enlightening the community in all that appertains to legislation. Tocqueville said eighty years ago: "The profession of the law serves as a counterpoise to democracy." We should to-day be more inclined to say that after having given to democracy its legal framework, it keeps that

framework in working order by elucidating the principles which the people have laid down in constitutions. To you, therefore, as an organized body of lawyers, one may fitly address these observations on legislative methods drawn from the experience of Europe. We live in critical times, when the best way of averting hasty or possibly even revolutionary changes is to be found in the speedy application of remedial measures. Both here and in Europe improvements in the methods of legislation will not only enable the will of the people to be more adequately expressed, but will help that will to express itself with temperance and wisdom.

What is legislation but an effort of the people to promote their common welfare? What is a Legislature but a body of men chosen to make and supervise the working of the rules framed for that purpose? No country has ever been able to fill its legislatures with its wisest men, but every country may at least enable them to apply the best methods, and provide them with the amplest materials.

The omens are favourable.

Never, I think, since the close of the Civil War, has there been among the best citizens of the United States so active a public spirit, so warm and pervasive a desire to make progress in removing all such evils as legislation can touch. Never were the best men, both in your legislatures and in the highest executive posts, more sure of sympathy and support in their labours for the common weal.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND FOUNDER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA ON FOUNDER'S DAY, APRIL 13, 1908.

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No one can stand here without thinking much and wishing to say much about Thomas Jefferson, the founder of this famous University, and next to George Washington one of the two or three most remarkable men that Virginia has given to the United States and to the world. Yet I must refrain from attempting to describe his striking personality. Not that there is anything to deter me personally or officially from attempting the task. To-day nothing need prevent the representative of the great grandson of King George the Third from paying a tribute to the gifts and the achievements of the draftsman of the Declaration of Independence. Nor ought I forget, in this connection, to remind you that Jefferson was in his later days the disinterested advocate of the most friendly relations with England, the policy of which he had so often opposed. But hours, rather than the few minutes at my disposal, would be needed to do justice to a character so varied and so complex, to a career connected with so many great events and entangled into the web of so many

personal and political controversies. Moreover, in painting the portrait it would not be right to give the lights without giving also the shadows; and this is not the place in which one could bring oneself to speak anything but praise of the illustrious founder of an illustrious institution.

It is easy to pick holes in the Declaration of Independence, and to decry, as one of your own distinguished men did, its "glittering generalities." But under the rhetoric and the overbold and overbroad assertions of doctrine it contains, there is a condensed and concentrated force which few documents have equalled, and which accounts for the immense power it has exerted. There is, however, I may say, one matter on which all are agreed whether or no they approve the principles and the doings of Jefferson. He was a man of a wonderfully vigorous and many-sided activity. Scarcely a subject of enquiry lay outside of the range of his versatile intellect. Whether you like him or not, you cannot help being attracted by him. Whether you think his influence on American politics and thought to have been in the main wholesome or pernicious, you must admit that influence to have been pervading and permanent. How far it is still a really effective influence, now that the conditions of the United States have become so different from those which surrounded him, I will not attempt to determine. His writings are no longer widely read; his name is more often on the lips than are his ideas fresh in the recollection of those who pro-

fess themselves his disciples and seek to conjure with his authority. But that men should still call themselves his disciples and should, nearly a century after his death, claim to be maintaining his traditions, is a remarkable tribute to his gifts, and a remarkable evidence of the power he exerted in his own time upon the great party that still looks back to him as its founder.

He had a lively interest not only in human affairs but also in all matters of natural history, an interest which sometimes led him into odd hypotheses, as when he conjectured that the bareness of the Western prairies which were being explored in his day was due to the action of the mastodons, — the remains of those primeval monsters had been recently discovered — who had devoured all the trees. But this sort of interest strikes us as being all the more remarkable because he was in a notable degree a man of the eighteenth century. His whole way of thinking is unlike our way of to-day, and we might say that compared with such contemporaries as Bentham, Burke, Alexander Hamilton, and still more if he be compared with such much younger contemporaries as Goethe and Coleridge, Jefferson is almost archaic. Yet having a bright, keen, inventive mind, which played freely round many subjects, he was sometimes in advance of his time, and hit upon ideas characteristically modern.

Of all Jefferson's ideas and projects none lay nearer to his heart and none deserve such unqualified praise as his faith in education and his efforts to diffuse it.

He desired to establish in Virginia a scheme of general elementary instruction and to create therewith a system of upper secondary schools corresponding broadly to the grammar schools of England, though with a less purely classical curriculum, and then to complete the fabric by a University whose aims should be commensurate with all human knowledge and which should recognize, both in the variety of its studies and in the range of choice allowed among those studies, as well as in the absence of ecclesiastical control and even of coercive discipline, those principles of liberty which he held so dear.

It was a fine and fertile conception. It does all the more credit to Jefferson because nearly all the colleges of the United States were in those days classical or mathematical academies attached to particular denominations and with a narrow range of subjects, drilling their pupils thoroughly, but drilling them on old-fashioned methods. Ardently interested in all sorts of studies, natural as well as civil or humanistic, Jefferson desired a University which should take, as Bacon said, all knowledge to be its province, and should provide instruction in every subject that men sought to study. This view of a university — the old true view of those early Middle Ages when universities first arose but when there were few subjects to study — had been almost forgotten. We are so familiar with it now that we scarcely realize how novel it was when propounded by Jefferson, and how much

it transcended the common notions of his own times when, in England, Oxford and Cambridge were just beginning to awake from their long torpor, days during which it had been left to the Universities of Scotland to keep ablaze the sacred torch in Britain. Jefferson lit the torch afresh in the South. In 1779 he tried to secure a scheme for establishing popular education. In 1794 he sought to transfer bodily to Virginia the whole faculty of the University of Geneva, threatened by the progress of the Revolution in France, a really brilliant idea, which ought to have been carried out, for the gain to America would at that time have been greater than the loss to Geneva. Never thereafter did he desist from his efforts, till in 1819 the Legislature passed an act, which, while providing primary schools, crowned the edifice by making an appropriation for the University of Virginia. You remember his own words, "Our University, the last of my mortal cares and the last service I can render to my country."

Jefferson carried further than any other man of equal ability and equally large practical experience has done, for we need not place in the category of practical men the contemporary visionaries of France, a faith in the politicial perfectibility of mankind. He believed, or at least he frequently declared, because we cannot be sure that all he said represented his permanent convictions, that the greatest evil from which men suffered was the control of other men. He liked to call that control Tyranny, but the language he sometimes used was ap-

plicable not merely to a despotic and irresponsible power but to many other kinds of authority. He would appear to have thought that liberty was so much the best thing in the world that with enough of it all human affairs would go well, and he so heartily distrusted authority as to conceive that insurrections were needed every now and then to check the misdeeds of rulers.

When one reads Jefferson's writings and examines his conduct, considering on the one hand his faith in the people, the average uninstructed people, of his day, and on the other hand his high sense of the value of knowledge and his constant efforts to spread university instruction, three questions present themselves to our minds — questions of permanent interest for all students of politics.

The first of these questions is, How far is it true that the people are sure to go right? As you here would express it in familiar terms, Is the average man — the farmer or the artisan — "fit to run a democracy"? He is always being told so on public platforms. But is he really so? and do those who tell him so always believe what they say? If freedom alone is enough to enable a people to govern themselves well, that is to say, if the impulses of man are preponderatingly good, if the masses may be trusted to know their own true interest, and to select the proper means to secure it, the average man ought to be able to do so. Yet Jefferson evidently had his misgivings. Though he refrained from the condemnation which he ought to have passed on the excesses

committed by some of his French Revolutionary friends, he knew well enough that a great deal more than the abolition of monarchy and "aristocracy" was needed to secure good government; and his own experience in office was amply sufficient to show him how many knots there are that the "average man" cannot untie.

This question is so large that I must not attempt to discuss it here. I am content to commend it to your reflection as one of the most momentous and fundamental questions of politics that has ever occupied men's minds. We are always getting fresh light upon it every year, and from every part of the world where power has been placed in the hands of the multitude. It has appeared in a somewhat new form in the extension which men seek to give to the principle of direct legislation by the institutions of the Initiative and the Referendum. The amount of truth contained in Jefferson's sanguine view of human nature is really the basic problem of all politics and of all government, which men are continually trying to solve, and no doubt we have advanced further towards a knowledge of its conditions than had the founders of your republic and of the French Republic of those days, for the world has had a much ampler experience of popular governments, or at least of governments claiming to be popular. That experience ranges downward from republics so well governed as Switzerland and the Orange Free State to republics of the class to which Nicaragua and Hayti belong.

A second question suggested by Jefferson's ideas and efforts is this: What ought to be, and what has usually been, the effect of education on the highly educated man so far as politics are concerned? Have knowledge and training been found to give him a deeper sympathy with the people and a greater fitness for leading the people, or do they rather cut him off from the masses, making him detached, perhaps supercilious, possibly even scornful or cynical?

The question I put to you is not that which is often debated in Europe, though seldom here, whether the masses of the people on the one hand, or the wealthier and educated class on the other, are more generally likely to be right — that is, to be shewn by the result to have been right — in their attitude on political questions. It is rather this question: What is the effect of the highest education, coupled with superior intellectual gifts, on a man's political attitude and tendencies? Will it tend to increase or to reduce his faith in popular government?

You may say that this will depend upon his temperament, whether he is hopeful and buoyant, or timid and despondent. No doubt temperament, which itself depends largely on physical health, does make a difference. But the average of cheerful and gloomy temperaments, or of bad and good digestions, is pretty much the same in the best educated and the least educated classes, so the element of temperamental difference may be eliminated.

Instead of trying to discover *a priori* what sort of

influence high intellectual capacity and a store of knowledge might be expected to have on a man's political tendencies, let us see what has in fact been the attitude of such gifted men towards the politics of their own countries. We shall find plenty of instances on both sides. If you take those republics of antiquity which the contemporaries of Jefferson were so fond of talking about, you will find some great thinkers on the side of democracy and some against it. This happened also in modern Europe. In England, for instance, Milton, Locke, Addison, Adam Smith, Bentham, Romilly, Mackintosh, were in their days more or less on the popular or reforming side, while Hobbes, Swift, Bolingbroke, David Hume, Samuel Johnson, were on the other. Some great men, such as Burke, Coleridge, and Wordsworth began in the one camp and ended in the other, altering their position as life went on under what people call the teaching of events.

Is there then no general principle to be discovered affecting the attitude or sympathies of leading thinkers, and are they divided between Liberals and Conservatives just like other men?

Let me suggest to you such a principle, the hint of which comes to me from what we have seen happen in Europe during the last fifty years.

Fifty years ago there were in Continental Europe no free governments except in some small States, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, and the Scandinavian countries. In some countries, such as Russia, Austria,

the whole of Italy, except Piedmont, and to some extent in France under Louis Napoleon's sway, there existed not only arbitrary rule but an administration which was oppressive and generally inefficient. In Prussia, and some other German states, the administration was good, but the people had little influence upon it. Now, in all these countries at that time the great majority of superior minds were strongly liberal. They saw the evils of the existing system more clearly than did other men in their own rank of life; and whether or no they suffered personally from misgovernment, they were disgusted by it and anxious to overthrow it.

To-day in Continental Europe the position is different. I will not attempt to decide to which side the preponderance of men distinguished in literature and science belongs. Many might be named as conspicuous on each side. But such men, taken as a whole, are more generally conservative in temper, and less heartily democratic in opinion, than men of the same type were in 1858. Why is this? Because the facts are different. The liberty formerly sought has, in most European countries, now been attained, while the administrative evils which then excited indignation have now been largely removed. Experience has, moreover, disclosed evils incident to some forms of popular government which were not and could not have been felt while arbitrary government held the field, and because demands are now made

in the name of liberty for further changes, political or economical, which many deem to be dangerous. Democracy has not brought with it all the benefits that were expected, so there has been a certain revulsion of feeling against democratic government. Many of the most powerful minds are occupied in trying not to broaden and deepen its channel, but to erect barriers that may check or guide its flow. But if arbitrary government were in any country to gain once more the upper hand, a thing very improbable (so far as we can look forward) either here or in western Europe, no doubt there would, among the thinkers in such a country, be as strong a tendency away from it back toward popular government as there was fifty years ago.

History will supply you with many other instances to illustrate this law of a reaction of great thinkers against the tendencies of their own time. Plato's criticism of the Athenian democracy is the most familiar instance. The explanation is simple enough. Penetrating minds see the causes of the evils that exist around them more clearly than other men do, and ardent minds have a stronger impulse to sweep away those evils. Men of imagination have a finer vision of what the world might be, and incline to condemn what exists because they believe in the possibility of something better. Whatever the actually existing institutions may be, they see the faults of those institutions. They despise the catchwords of a dominant party, they see the hollowness of current prejudices and the weakness of many a cur-

rent theory; they condemn the tendency to push a principle to extremes, and the intoxication with its own power which sometimes seizes upon the multitude. The same tendency that makes the great thinker in an age of despotism an advocate of popular government may make him conservative in an age when popular government seems to him to be in danger of going too fast or too far. So we may say, speaking broadly, that the philosopher and the idealist tend to be in opposition to the prevalent tendencies of their own time, be those tendencies what they may. Such men are apt to be in the minority. One might almost say that they belong rather to the future (or perhaps, like Dante, to an idealized past) than to the present; because it is they who are most exempt from the habit of blind obedience and the sway of custom, and are least inclined to acquiesce in what exists merely because it exists.

The moral of this is — a moral fit to be stated and reiterated and emphasized in a University — that no one must ever be afraid of being in a minority. Where at any rate the question is not of immediate action in a matter lying within the competence of the average man, for in such things the average man may fairly claim to prevail, but a question requiring wide knowledge or serious and independent thought, he who is in a minority is at least as likely to be right as he who is in a majority. The majority must no doubt prevail, for no means has been discovered of weighing as well as counting votes. But to prevail and to be

right are not the same thing; and in a democracy men must never be dissuaded, because they have been out-voted, from continuing to assert their convictions. Obey the majority while they are the majority, but do not for a moment suppose that because they are the majority they are right.

Thus the finest kind of mind may be, according to the circumstances of his time, either a liberal or a conservative, a man who cries "Forward" or a man who cries "Walk warily." But he will usually be one who rises above the passions and prejudices of the moment, who refuses to follow the crowd, who is not moved by popular cries. It is well that this should be so, — provided always that the detachment of the independent thinker does not go so far as to put him out of touch with the sentiment of his country and so prevent him from serving it. The great thinker who tries to be also a good citizen will have enough sympathy with his fellow-men to see that he must adapt his counsels to their needs, and must, instead of soaring above them, place himself on their level, and speak to them in a language they can understand. He ought to be independent; he must not stand apart in isolation.

This brings me to the third question, which a reflection upon Jefferson and his faith in university education suggests. What should a university do for its students in the way of fitting them for a life of learning or a life of public service? That it should give them knowledge is obvious enough. But it should also give them what

is even better than knowledge; that is, Wisdom, — by which I mean the power to apply an intelligent criticism to facts and ideas, to look at things all round, to know how to get principles out of facts, and to test the worth of ideas by their conformity to facts.

It should also teach them public spirit and the love of truth.

Public spirit is often spoken of as a moral virtue. That it is, — but it is a virtue which intellectual training may help to form. The function of Philosophy and History is so to enlarge our minds that we may see how each man's highest interest, conceived in its true moral aspect, is bound up with the public weal, and how nations and states prosper or decline just in proportion as the public interest prevails in their government or as that interest is allowed to be overborne by the selfish interest of classes or of individuals.

Still more evidently is it the duty of a university to instil a devotion to truth. Knowledge and wisdom and practical shrewdness, a sense of how to adapt means to ends, are needed in all the walks of life any one may have to tread. But in whatever work is to be done for the permanent benefit of mankind, be it for learning or science, be it for theology or politics; and also for all the higher kinds of practical achievement that the service of the Church or the State demands, the one vital and supreme requisite is a desire to find the truth and a resolve to follow it when

found. The temptation that most easily besets us all is to let personal interest, or vanity, or party spirit, or friendship, or even the sense of beauty, distract us from the pursuit of truth. Now the habit of seeking truth, though it is rightly counted among the moral virtues, is a habit which University training can help us to acquire through the examples set by great scholars and historians and investigators of nature, and by the practice of critical methods applied with scrupulous accuracy. It is the ever-present note of the real scholar, the real philosopher, the real historian.

The bitterest critics of Thomas Jefferson have never denied his patriotic devotion to the interests of Virginia nor ever disparaged his zeal for the spread of knowledge. It was the union in him of these two passions that prompted his life-long labors for the establishment of your University. There are no excellences which he would have more desired that it should implant in its students. Nor has its career belied his hopes. The University of Virginia has always sent forth men eminent both in learning and in the field of public life. She has never condescended to the superficial or the meretricious. Her standards of attainment have been high and her scholars have maintained them. She has been also a home of patriotism and civic virtue. Many of her sons have done splendid service for the nation, and have reflected glory upon this seat of learning and on the Commonwealth of Virginia. May this oldest of all your States, the mother of Washington

and of so many other illustrious figures in American history, ever hold high that banner of freedom and enlightenment which her founders planted on the shores of the New World three hundred and one years ago.

MISSIONS PAST AND PRESENT

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE LAYMEN'S MISSIONARY CONVENTION AT CHATTANOOGA, MAY 21, 1907.

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THE history of Christian Missions combines the interest which attaches to striking characters and strange adventures with that of tracing a long world movement which has passed through various phases, and has in each of them affected, and been affected by, events of the first moment. A comprehensive view of that history, connecting it with the general progress on the one hand of geographical discovery and on the other of religious thought and practice, would be a theme worthy of a philosophic historian. It is, however, only with the most recent phases of missionary work that I can attempt to deal in this address.

In the ancient world there was, before Christianity appeared, neither religious propaganda nor religious persecution. Each tribe, each region, had its own special or local gods, and each respected the local gods of the others. If now and then some invading general pillaged a sanctuary of the deities of another country, it was avarice alone that prompted him. Opinion condemned him, and he was likely — so men believed — to receive speedy punishment at the

hands of the offended powers. Thus the worship of one set of gods did not exclude the worship of another set, for all deities were deemed entitled to respect, each in his own jurisdiction. Similarly, since no faith claimed to be exclusively true or of universal authority, its votaries had no reason for trying to convert others to it by persuasion, nor for persecuting those who adhered to their local worships. Even when the people of Israel denied the existence of any God but their own, they did not seek to proselytize, because it was to Israel alone that Jehovah had revealed himself.

With the advent of Christianity the scene changed. It claimed to be the only true religion, and sought to save a world lying in wickedness by denouncing and expunging all the worships of the heathen. Devotion to God and love for perishing men alike made the propagation of the faith its first duty. Hence it encountered a hostility never previously aroused by any other religion. The first missions were immediately followed by the first persecutions. After three centuries of missionary progress, frequently interrupted by relentless severities, Christianity triumphed. Two centuries later, being then supported by the whole power of the State, it began to repress first the lingering devotees of paganism, then those who, differing from the ruling orthodoxy, had been branded as heretics by Councils of the Church. So were ushered in those ages of persecution which in Spain and Spanish America lasted down to the days of our grandfathers.

There is a striking passage in Lucretius in which he laments the evil wrought by superstition, referring to the instances of human sacrifice, rare as these were in Greece or Rome, though common enough at Carthage, and dwelling on the gloom cast upon life by the fear of suffering after death. He wrote before religious persecution had been dreamt of. How much darker would have been the picture a poet might have drawn in those later centuries when it was deemed a duty to extirpate heresy by the sword and the faggot!

One may distinguish three chief phases among those through which missions have passed. In the first, which began with the Apostles, and was continued through a long line of glorious saints, Christianity went forth, trusting entirely to the power and the purity of its own teachings. It promised salvation through Christ and through a life led in obedience to his precepts. St. Patrick preached to the Gael of Ireland, St. Columba to the Picts of North Britain, St. Augustine to the heathen of Kent, St. Boniface, St. Columban, St. Gall, and many another missionary from the British Isles to the heathen of Germany. Some of them died a martyr's death. All of them went out like sheep among wolves, trusting only to the help and blessing of God.

In the eighth century a change came. The Frankish Charles the Great carried his arms against the pagan Saxons, and made conversion a part of conquest and

a pledge of submission. From his time on other Christian warriors, some of them from ambition, some from what they believed to be piety, spread the kingdom of the Cross by arms. Olaf Tryggyvason in Norway and the Crusaders in Palestine, and after them the Teutonic knights on the shores of the Baltic, gave the choice between baptism and death. So did the Spaniards when they burst into the New World. Wherever these terrible conquerors went, the native worships were blotted out and Christianity enforced at the sword's point. They were continuing beyond the ocean the crusade on behalf of the Faith which they had only just completed in Spain against the Moors.

With them, however, the forcible propagation of Christianity practically ended. Neither the French missionaries on the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, nor the English missionaries like John Eliot in Massachusetts sought the aid of carnal weapons. The earlier and better stage in which the Gospel relied on its own intrinsic virtue was now returning. In this third stage missions have, with few exceptions, remained ever since; but it is still worth while to remember into what un-Christian conduct misguided zeal drove men who thought they were helping Christianity.

In our own time missions entered on what may be called a fourth stage, in which their aim and purpose is differently conceived. We have learnt to distinguish more carefully between different kinds of non-Christian religions and to recognize the good features that belong

to some of them, especially to Buddhism and to Islam. Time was when the success of a mission was measured by the number of congregations it was able to form in a heathen country, and the number of converts annually added to the fold. But this is now no longer deemed the chief object of its work, and the mere public profession of adherence to Christianity is valued only when it is believed to indicate a real and permanent change of life and mind.

The views now entertained as to the future in another world of those who pass into it without ever having heard the Gospel message, are less despondent than those that prevailed among Christians eighty years ago. There is an enlarged conception of what is meant by bringing truth and light to the people that sat in darkness, and it begins to be felt that what is needed is to raise the whole conception of life and transform the character by implanting higher ideals which will cut off at the root the degrading customs of pagan life. When the missionary has to deal with the religions of the more civilized non-Christian peoples, he treats with respect whatever is best in the moral teachings of Buddha or of Mohammed and tries to meet the followers of Confucius on the ethical ground he and they have in common, feeling that even when few converts are made much good may be done by the diffusion of elevating ideas and of Christian morality. Even such usages and superstitions as it may be desired to extirpate are treated more

gently, not only because we have begun to feel a sort of scientific interest in these survivals of primæval custom, but because it is seen that improvements come best when they come from within, from a mind and heart that has been awakened to a higher view of a Divine Power, and of man's relation to it.

These changes in our views of what missions may accomplish and what methods they may follow are not the index of any lessened faith or slackening earnestness. Preaching is not the only, nor always the shortest, way to the end desired. I remember that when Dr. Livingstone, after several short journeys, finally quitted his mission station to enter upon that great exploration of Africa and crusade against the slave trade which have given him a place among the benefactors of mankind, there were some well-meaning but small-minded persons who censured him for deserting his proper missionary work. But in a few years no one doubted that he had rendered infinitely greater services to the world and to Christianity by his journeys and the light he threw on African problems than he could have done by remaining with the little Kaffir congregation to which he ministered.

Such gatherings as the Laymen's Missionary Movement has been holding all over this country are an evidence that there is no decline of zeal among American Christians. So also the approaching International Congress in Edinburgh shows that the denominational narrowness and rivalry which used to distract the efforts

of missionary organizations has given place to a fraternal spirit which seeks to make all the religious bodies work together, aiming not at uniformity in organization, but at friendly coöperation in a common cause. It is well this should be so, for the circumstances of the time we live in make the claim of missions an urgent and insistent call upon all these bodies. It is of that urgency, of the movements of change now passing on the world, and of the need there is for prompt and united action before change goes further that I desire to speak. I speak as a traveller who has seen missions in many a foreign country, and I am emboldened to speak to you by remembering that nothing has done more to keep the hearts of Americans and Englishmen close together than the work they have sought to do in the same spirit for the kingdom of God. In these latest centuries we have been the two great missionary nations. Spanish and Portuguese missionaries did an immense work, especially in the sixteenth century: French missionaries an immense work, especially in the seventeenth. Germans and Swiss have labored effectually in the nineteenth, but your and our peoples have perhaps done the most, and have done it on the same lines, in the same faith, following the same principles, always trusting to the power of truth and not to force. So the traveller, wherever he goes, finds American and British missionaries always working side by side, always ready to help one another.

Missions must now be regarded as parts of a great world movement, one out of the many influences which are now exercised, more powerfully than ever before, by the civilized upon the uncivilized or savage peoples.

The world has grown smaller; steam and electricity have brought its parts together; and as the civilized races have spread out over its surface, there is no place where their influence is not felt, so that, with the exception of two ancient empires in the East, nearly every part of the world has been brought under the control of some of the civilized white races, and even those empires are now in close relations with white races. Now, that is a new phenomenon. In the midst of these new phenomena missions to the uncivilized races, are indispensable, for if Christianity is not brought to bear upon them, the contact may make their last state worse than their first. To that point I shall presently return and shall try to convey to you two features in the more recent history of missions on which it seems proper to dwell, viz., the causes which retard the progress of Christianity in uncivilized countries, and the special need which exists at this moment for diffusing it there.

Meantime, let me, as one who has seen many missions in many parts of the world, bear testimony to the splendid work which is being done in our own time by Christian missionaries. There have not been any nobler examples of devotion to duty, of self-sacrifice, of the renunciation of the

ordinary pleasures and joys of the world for the sake of a higher calling, than those which our missionaries have given during the last eighty years. Let me pay especial tribute to the work which is being done by the many missions of this country. I have seen them in India, where their work is admirable, and where some of your missionaries are men as wise as can be found in that vast country, men who know as much about India and are as much worthy to be listened to on that subject as any men to be met there. No better evidence than theirs can be desired as to the working of British rule there, for they can regard its action impartially, yet with perfect comprehension; I have seen them also in various parts of the Turkish East, where they are placed among Mohammedans and certain ancient non-Protestant churches. The Christian peoples of the East have suffered terribly in recent years, and they may have yet a great deal to suffer. In 1895 and 1896 more than one hundred thousand Armenian Christians were massacred by the orders of Sultan Abdul Hamid. Many of them were women, many might have saved their lives if they had spoken three words to renounce Christianity; yet, like the martyrs of the apostolic age, they refused to sacrifice their Christian faith, and went willingly to death for the sake of their Lord and Master. Among these peoples it has been the duty of your American missionaries to labor, not proselytizing but befriending them educationally and otherwise. And the best work

that has ever been done among them has been done by those missionaries. Whenever the English friends of the Armenian Chirstians desired to know what was happening in Asiatic Turkey, whenever we desired to find some means of relieving the famine-stricken and down-trodden people, whenever it became necessary to ascertain what, if anything, could be done by political action to alleviate the sufferings of these oppressed and martyred races, I have always found that the best thing to do was to turn to the American missionaries. And I have often heard from members of the ancient Armenian church the warmest acknowledgment of the great services which your missionaries have rendered to them.

Now, when you recall the splendid work which missions have done, when we think also of how long they have been at work, and of the advantages which those who come forth from civilized nations ought to possess, are you not sometimes surprised that Christianity has not long ago overspread the whole world? Why is it that more progress has not been made? Think of the beginnings of Christianity, when St. Paul and the other apostles went out to make those first missionary tours, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. They went out few in number, through a pagan world, a world which was dominated by ancient and powerful religions, where all authority and all secular powers were on the side of the old religions, and where before long those powers, the emperors and their governors

and other officers, put forth their whole strength to resist and extinguish Christianity; and a series of cruel persecutions took place, extending over nearly three centuries, by which it was attempted to root out the new religion from the earth. Those persecutions failed. Christianity spread itself over the empire against all the power the empire could put forth, and made its way in the teeth of persecutions until at last it grew so strong that the emperors were obliged to recognize it; and from that time forth it became the dominant religion over all the world, except fire-worshipping Persia, that the Romans knew. It did that work in three centuries.

Since that time sixteen hundred years have passed, and Christianity has had most of the material forces of the world on its side, nearly all the military power, as well as nearly all the learning and civilization, except during a comparatively short period when there was more literature and science in Musulman than in European countries. Why, then, has not Christianity succeeded in converting the whole earth?

That is, indeed, a question worth asking. It is a question you have doubtless often asked yourselves. We shall do better to reflect on what we have not accomplished, and try to discover why it is that we have failed, than to exult in what we have accomplished. It may be that we shall discover some of the causes which have weakened us and prevented us from obtaining, with material advantages on our side, what the apostles

and their successors obtained with all the material forces and civil powers against them. I am going to give one reason; it is only one of several reasons, but it is a reason which is brought forcibly home to whoever travels in uncivilized countries and notes the limited success attained by missions in places where the zeal and devotion of the missionaries are evident.

The preaching of the gospel is but one among many forces and influences which have been brought to bear on the uncivilized races during the last four centuries, and some of those other influences have largely neutralized the effect of the gospel. What was the first thing that happened when the Spaniards and the Portuguese began to settle in the American islands and continents? One of their main objects was to convert the heathen. They were pious, according to their lights, and quite sincere in their eagerness to spread the faith. They took out a great many friars with them, and set them to preaching. The cross was carried up and down the islands, and the friars preached; and the natives, whether or not they understood and believed, were at any rate baptized and compelled to attend mass and say that they were Christians. The native religions or superstitions had little hold on these poor, simple savages of the Antilles, and of many parts of the American continents also, so they yielded easily. The Conquerors thought they were saving souls, whether by persuasion or force; and they would have thought it absurd not to use force in that holy war-

fare. But the Conquerors did something more than this. Though the friars came to preach, the adventurers who swarmed into tropical America came with a fierce greed for gold. That was what they chiefly sought in the New World. Finding gold ornaments among the people, they asked where they came from; they searched for the gold mines, and put the natives to work in them. They set them also to till the soil, and those weak, simple-minded aborigines, accustomed to raising just enough food to support themselves, were driven to work under the stern eye and cruel scourge of a Spanish taskmaster, until in the island of Hispaniola (now Hayti)and in the Bahamas, the whole population died out under the severities of the Spanish rule within thirty or forty years after the discovery of the islands. The same thing happened in the other conquered territories. Wherever the Spaniard went he seized the land of the people, reduced them to what was virtually slavery, and forced them to work in the mines or till the soil for him.

That was probably the most harsh and terrible form which the contact of a civilized race with an uncivilized ever took. It ended with the extermination of many a native tribe. And yet something of that kind, though not so bad, has been going on ever since. Something of the kind is going on in the South American forests now. Wherever the strong races who, like the Spaniards, possessed horses and firearms, races with the

appliances of civilization at their command, have come into contact with weaker races, that sort of thing has happened. Everywhere the native has gone to the wall. Sometimes, where the native race was weak, it has been extinguished; it dies out either under harsh treatment or under the diseases which the white man brings with him, or through use of the liquor which he has supplied to them. In one way or another the native races, if not extinguished, have at any rate become demoralized. They lose those native customs which governed their life, and experience shews that it is easier to acquire the vices of the white man than to imitate his virtues.

I do not wish to overstate the case. I do not deny that some of these evils were inevitable. The contact of a superior civilized race with a barbarous race must always bring some harm to the weaker. But the evils need not have been so great if the civilized men who went among the natives had behaved like Christians. Unfortunately, that was just what few of them did. There were always some good men among them who tried to protect the natives, even some laymen among the first Spanish conquerors and many among the clergy. The noble Las Casas who spent his life in trying to protect the American aborigines was only one of many excellent Spanish churchmen. But the forces of rapine and avarice and that sort of arrogant contempt which the strong man feels for the weak were more potent forces. Down to our own times

you will find that the natives suffered far more than they gained. Their land was taken without giving them anything for it, and they were driven away or shot down. The trader who went among them cheated them, and did what was even worse: he sold them vile liquor that ruined them body and soul. Despite all the efforts made in recent years, those practices go on in some places still. It would have been a good thing for the natives if the art of distillation had never been discovered. It was only the other day, after whole tribes had perished, that we awakened to a sense of the tremendous evils wrought among native peoples by the sale of drink. It does harm enough among white people, but far more among a savage or semi-civilized race, for they are not seasoned to it, as in a certain way a number of our own populations have become, and they have less self-control than civilized men. It works like poison upon them and destroys them.

These things could not but injure and retard the work of Christianity. How was it possible for the natives not to look at the practice of the white man as well as at his preaching? The missionary represented a religion of justice, of peace, and of love. But with the missionary came the man who tried to take away the land of the native or sold him worthless goods or intoxicated him with his liquor. How was it possible for the natives, when they saw these men who called themselves "Christians" just as did the missionaries,

not to be struck by the divergence between the practice and the doctrines of this new religion? The saying is attributed to some African prince that the process going on in his country was: "First missionary, then trader, then army." The missionary came first, and well it would have been if he had been left to do his work alone. But before the missionary had succeeded in Christianizing the people, the trader came to undo the missionary's work.

Even where the white man does not rob or injure the natives there is something in his attitude when he finds himself among an uncivilized people that is harsh and unchristian. He acts toward them as if they were persons to whom he can do whatever he likes. Those who have travelled among savages or semi-savages will know what I mean when I say that it takes almost the temper of a saint to keep the white man from treating with arrogance or scorn a people who are very much weaker than himself and who frequently provoke him by an astonishing slackness or thoughtlessness or inconstancy of purpose. Nothing but a sense of human duty and Christian duty can prevent a man from acting harshly or unfairly when he is placed in such conditions. No doubt the natives often give provocation. In parts of Australia and in Tierra del Fuego they stole the sheep that had been placed upon the lands that once were theirs. But this does not excuse the settlers who went out in parties to shoot them down.

This behaviour and this attitude of the stronger white race have been among the chief obstacles to the advance of Christianity.

There were times when the governments of so-called Christian states themselves were little better than the adventurers who disgraced the Christian name. The long perpetuation, by the favour of such governments, of the African slave trade, the most hideous piece of cruelty and wrong ever perpetrated by civilized upon uncivilized men, is a terrible instance. It has been only in the last sixty or seventy years that these governments have awakened to a proper sense of their duties. Most of them have latterly tried, and are now honestly trying, to protect the natives. This is not yet the case in all parts of the world. There are one or two lamentable exceptions. But it is the case wherever either the United States or Great Britain holds sway. Your government and the British government are doing their best wherever their flags fly to protect the native in every way they can. In India it has been for a century past the sole and whole-hearted object of the English government to administer absolutely equal justice in India between the European and the native and to give the native as complete a protection and as good a government as the circumstances of the country will permit.

But even where the government performs its duty it is possible for the private adventurer, or the trading corporation behind the private adventurer that sup-

plies the funds and does not watch how the adventurer behaves, to do a great deal of harm. They it is who discredit Christianity. While the missionary is preaching, the adventurer goes on cheating the native or ousting him from his land, sometimes even forcing him into a sort of slavery, and punishing him if he fails to fulfil the allotted task, and the trading company at home draws the profits. The temptations to abuse strength have been great and have been yielded to. No wonder that these things checked the advance of Christianity. No wonder that it spread more rapidly while adversity and persecution gave it the opportunity to show the distinctively Christian virtues of faith, constancy, humility, and love than it did when all the powers of this earth were on its side, that it advanced faster against the hostility of Roman emperors like Nero, Decius, and Diocletian than it has advanced with all the strength of civilization behind it. It is not that any power has gone out of the gospel; it is not that the best men in Christian nations were any less zealous; but other men went on undoing the missionary's work all the time he was preaching.

If this be true, what is the duty of Christian men to-day? That duty certainly is not to ask governments to spread the gospel by force. No more action like that of the Spaniards who carried the scourge and the sword while the friars carried the crucifix. You do not believe that the blessing of God will rest upon such methods.

Neither do you desire that governments should give any political support to missionaries. The more that missions are kept apart from political authorities and left to rely on themselves, the better. What you do desire is to strengthen the hands of the civilized governments when they try to secure for the native justice, considerate treatment, full protection against the craft or violence of the adventurer.

It is in your power to do that. Public opinion can strengthen the hands of the governments; it can encourage each government to lay down and carry out rules for the due protection of the native. We all know that the United States government desired to carry out honestly and in the right spirit such a policy even when the Red Indians were being defrauded of their lands or of the supplies given them. Your national government always meant to do right, though it was not always able to supervise its agents.

We in Britain wish to do the same; and we are always appealing to our government and assuring them that they will have and do now have the spirit of the British public behind them in endeavouring to protect the native. And if there are still parts of the world in which the natives are to-day ill treated, let us trust that the public opinion of America and of England will speak out and will demand that the native races everywhere be duly cared for and delivered from oppression.

Your duty does not end with subscribing to the mis-

sionary societies. It requires you to watch wherever over the world the advance of Christianity is being hindered by the wicked practices of white men to see that the adventurer and the trader are restrained if they wrong the natives by force or fraud, and absolutely to prohibit the sale of liquor to the natives. The natives ought to be regarded as children, and have the measure both of care and of tenderness which is given to children, for under the conditions in which their life has been passed, they cannot be expected to rise quickly to the level of civilized man.

This brings me to the other point which I desire.

The position is now becoming critical. You are often told — and you are told with truth — that this is a critical time for civilized countries. It is a time when there are all sorts of new ideas in the air, a time when many ancient landmarks have been removed, and when efforts are being made to remove even those that remain. In this country you are receiving vast new masses of population. In the Old World new social and political movements have begun to stir up even the hitherto most stagnant countries. But if you look beyond Europe and America, at what is passing among the savage or semi-civilized races of mankind, and note the changes which have come upon them within the last fifty years and which are telling upon them now, you will perceive that this is perhaps the most critical moment ever seen in the history of the non-Christian nations and races, a mo-

ment most significant in its bearing on their future. The races of European origin have now obtained control of the whole world (except two or three ancient Asiatic states, and their influence, political and financial, is felt far more deeply than ever before even in those parts of the world over which they do not exercise direct political sway.

While our material civilization is permeating every people, our ideas and the example of our institutions are also telling as never before upon these more backward races. In half a century or less that which we call European civilization will have overspread the earth and extinguished the organizations and customs of the savage and semi-civilized tribes or nations. The native tribes will have been broken up, native kingdoms will have vanished, native customs will have gone; everywhere the white man will have established his influence and destroyed the old native ways of life. All is trembling and crumbling away under the shock and impact of the stronger, harder civilization which the white foreigners, penetrating everywhere by our easier methods of transportation by land and sea, have brought with them. Things which have endured from the Stone Age until now are at last coming to a perpetual end, and will be no more. They will vanish from the face of the earth. This is something that has never happened before and can never happen again.

When all these savage and semi-civilized peoples have lost their ancient organizations, their ancient

customs and their ancient beliefs, they will, along with these things, lose also their ancient morality, such as it was, which had its sanctions in those customs and beliefs. If you destroy these, their morality falls to the ground and is gone, and they are left with nothing, adrift upon a wide and shoreless sea. You may say that their customs were often bad, their morality often immorality. That is true. Much of it ought to disappear. Yet with all its tolerance of vice and all its degrading practices, it had in some ways a certain beneficial action upon their conduct. Its sanctions exercised some control for good. It furnished a basis for the conduct of life better than the mere unrestrained impulse to the gratification of every passion and desire. It prescribed some kinds of virtuous actions, such as good faith (at least with one another), mutual help in times of want, hospitality, and compassion for the helpless. There are savage peoples who have these virtues, and they were intertwined with supernatural sanctions which are now perishing.

The process of destruction and disintegration which I have described is inevitable, and it is advancing swiftly. If we measure time by the lifetime of a man, the end may seem still distant, but we can begin to conjecture the date of its arrival. Already there are hardly any heathen left in the two American continents (though there are millions of aborigines who are not Christians in any effective sense), and hardly

any in the isles of the Pacific. Only in India and the East Indian archipelago, and in South Central Africa and parts of West Africa do there remain any large masses of idolatrous or spirit-worshipping men. Within less than two centuries the whole non-Christian world may be practically divided between Buddhism and Islam, and although the latter of those two great faiths is still spreading in parts of Africa and Asia, the hold of both upon their votaries may by that time have been sensibly weakened.

That is why the present moment is so critical and so precious. If these peoples are losing the old customs and beliefs which have ruled them thus far, the time has come to give them something new and better. Unless they receive some new moral basis of life, some beliefs and motives and precepts which can appeal to their hearts and rule their conduct, can restrain bad impulses, and instil worthy conceptions of life and duty and worship, their last state may be worse than the first. Having overspread the world, and taken these weaker races under our control, we cannot evade the responsibility that lies upon us to think and to care for them. It was at the prompting of our own interests that we of the white races disturbed their ancient ways of life, for we went among them, some few doubtless with a desire to do good, but the great majority from a desire to make money and to exploit the world's resources for profit of the white man. Under the ægis of his govern-

ment, he is taking the agricultural wealth from the soil, the forests from the hills, and the minerals out of the rocks, all for his own benefit. Of all this wealth nothing, except perhaps a meagre wage for manual labour, goes to the native.

The power of civilized man has too often come as a crushing force in a destroying hand. Let the gospel of Christ come to these races, the old foundations of whose life are crumbling away beneath them, not as the mere nominal profession of those who are grasping their land and trying to profit by their toil, but accompanied by justice and tenderness in action, and recommended by example as well as by precept. Let it come as a beneficent power which can fill their hearts with new thoughts and new hopes, which may become a link between them and ourselves, averting that strife and suffering which will otherwise follow, and leading them gently forward into the light. Let it be a bond between all races of mankind of whatever blood, or speech, or colour, a sacred bond to make them feel and believe that they and we are all the children of one Father in heaven.

THE MISSION OF STATE UNIVERSITIES

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN AT MADISON, JUNE, 1908.

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THIS University of Wisconsin in which we are met stands by common consent in the front rank among the State Universities of the United States. It is younger than some of them, but inferior to none in the width of its curriculum and the ability of its staff, and it is perhaps more conspicuously identified then any other with the political life of the State. This is therefore a fitting place in which one who delivers a Commencement Address may choose for his theme the various origins from which universities have sprung, the various forms in which they have organized themselves, and the peculiar features and functions which belong to the American State Universities, that "latest birth of time."

A university is, in its simplest form, nothing more than an aggregation of teachers and learners. It was in that way that the earliest universities of modern Europe began. Salerno, Bologna, Paris, were the first cities in which crowds of learners gathered round a few eminent teachers of medicine (in the first), of law (in the second), of theology and dialectics (in the third). Such too were the beginnings of Oxford and Cambridge.

In each of those trading towns situated upon rivers, then the chief avenues of commerce, a concourse of students formed itself round a few learned men, and presently grew to vast dimensions. These universities were not founded by any public authority, but founded themselves, springing up naturally out of the desire for knowledge; and hence we in England describe our two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as being "corporations at common law," *i.e.* deriving their legal quality as corporate bodies from ancient custom which antedates the time of legal memory. The same thing had happened in the Eastern World. Where Islam reigned, schools sprang up in the great mosques like that famous one of El Azhar in Cairo which still draws thousands of students of all ages from all parts of the Musulman world. Later on in the Middle Ages sovereigns began to establish such places of learning. The Emperor Frederick II set up one at Naples in A.D. 1225, Pope Gregory IX another at Toulouse in 1233. The first in the Germanic Empire was that of Prague, founded by Pope Clement VI and Emperor Charles the Fourth in 1347–1348; and others followed, such as that famous school at Heidelberg which the Elector Palatine Rupert, and Pope Urban VI at his request, set up in 1386.

Popes had also assumed the right of founding universities, and with good right, because their ecclesiastical jurisdiction embraced all Europe, and they were called upon to see that a due supply both of trained

theologians and trained lawyers was always forthcoming. In Scotland the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, for instance, were founded by papal bulls, but when after the breach between England and Rome Queen Elizabeth desired to create a university in Ireland she did it herself by a royal charter. In modern Europe, since the conception has grown up that a university is an institution entitled to grant degrees, and since degrees themselves have obtained more or less legal recognition, it is now understood that nothing less than some public authority, such as either a royal grant or a statute, can create a university. It is thus that the eight new universities recently established, and the most recent of them perhaps too hastily established, in England, viz., London, Durham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Bristol, have been constituted.

Here in the United States you have allowed the widest freedom, so colleges and universities, great and small, have sprung up all over the country in a crop almost too abundant. Harvard and Yale were the foundations of private benefactors, though their States subsequently aided them. Many other colleges owe their origin to religious denominations. But the most interesting, and certainly the most peculiar and characteristically American, type has been that of the university founded and supported and governed by the State.

Before proceeding to consider how this scheme of

State support and control has worked, let me try to give you a brief view of the universities of the three countries whose conditions and ideas most resemble yours in America. I mean Germany, England, and Scotland, — countries in each of which the university has played a great part and has not only illustrated the character of the nation but done much to form that character.

The universities of Germany have, during the last seventy years, led the world in the completeness of their teaching organization, in the amplitude of the provision of instruction in every branch of knowledge which they make, and in the services they render to the prosecution of research. In these respects they have set an example to the world, an example whose value is recognized in the United States, from which so many students have gone to Germany. The level of learning among the teachers, taken as a whole, is perhaps higher than anywhere else: and it is to the energy of these teachers that we must largely ascribe that completeness with which special training has been brought to bear upon every department of practical life in Germany, upon private business in production and distribution no less than upon all kinds of administrative work. A control is exercised over the universities by the government which you here and we in England might think excessive, but in practice it does not seem to be harmful, for public opinion practically secures freedom of teaching and relieves the professors

from undue interference. The tradition of respect for the great seats of learning, strong in the minds of the German bureaucracy, who have all been educated there, is found to act as an efficient protection. Indeed, the whole nation cares for the universities, is proud of the universities, recognizes, as perhaps no other nation has ever done, the value for practical life of full knowledge and exact training, so that everything is done which money and organizing skill can do to maintain the institutions of learning and teaching at the highest level of efficiency. Nor must I forget to add that the universities have another claim on the affection of the German people in the fact that when, after the battle of Jena in 1806, North Germany lay for a time prostrate at the feet of a foreign conqueror, it was in the universities that the patriotic national spirit found its surest home, and it was among their professors and students that the movement began which culminated in the liberation of the German fatherland.

The universities of England — and here I speak chiefly of Oxford and Cambridge, as the oldest and by far the most characteristic educational product of English soil — belong to a different type. Although the great scientific discoveries of the last centuries are due to British more than to any other discoverers, these universities have not in recent years contributed so largely to original research either in natural science or in the human subjects as have their sisters in Germany. They are far less completely organized for the

purposes of instruction. They do not educate so large a proportion of the people. They have been, since the Reformation, for the most part places of resort for the upper and middle classes, and it is only within the last thirty years that they began to be rendered easily accessible to the promising and diligent youth of the poorer sections of society. But they have had several conspicuous merits which are specially their own. Their ideal has been to give not so much an education qualifying a man to succeed in any particular walk of life as that general education which will fit him to be a worthy member of church and commonwealth. They have sought to develop men as men, to shape and polish a completely harmonious and well-rounded intellect and character, a personality in whom all faculties have been cultivated and brought as nearly as may be to a symmetrical completeness. And in aiming at this, they have thought not only of learning or of the powers of the speculative intellect, but also of the aptitudes which find their scope in practical life, and which enable a man to work usefully with other men and to exercise a wholesome influence in his community. Oxford and Cambridge have long been closely associated with the public life of the nation. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries nearly all of those who reached high eminence as statesmen were their alumni, and gratefully acknowledged how much they owed to the Alma Mater. That which they did owe was not always learning nor even the power of ready

and finished speech, a power which must always count for much in the political life of a free country. It was perhaps rather the knowledge of human nature, the tact and judgment, the sense of honour and comradeship which daily social intercourse in the colleges of these universities tended to form. In these colleges — there are twenty-two in Oxford and nineteen in Cambridge — there is a sort of domestic life which brings the students into close touch with one another. The undergraduates dine together in the same college hall along with the graduate members of the college who are the teachers. They worship in the same college chapel. They have their sports together, each college with its cricket team and its racing boats on the river. The opportunities for forming friendships are unrivalled, and thus it comes to pass that those who remember Oxford and Cambridge say that they learnt as much from one another as they did from their professors and tutors. Moreover, the domestic arrangements of our English college life create a more easy and familiar intercourse between the teachers, especially the younger ones, and the undergraduates than exists anywhere else. The undergraduate students are the friends of their teachers, living with them on an equality which is of course tempered by the respect due to age and experience. It is a pleasant relation, good for the older and the younger alike. Thus has there been created in Oxford and Cambridge that impalpable thing which we call an Atmosphere, an

intellectual and social tone which forms manners and refines taste, and strengthens characters by traditions inherited from a long and splendid past.

The four universities of Scotland are very different from the English, and rather resemble the universities of Germany. Though far less completely equipped than are the latter, for Scotland has been a comparatively poor country, they have always given a high quality of instruction, and produced a large number of remarkable men. There are no residential colleges like those of England, so the undergraduates live in lodgings, where they please, and thus there is less of social student life. But the instruction is stimulating; and the undergraduates, being mostly poor men, and coming of a diligent and aspiring stock, are more generally studious and hard-working and self-reliant than are those of Oxford and Cambridge. Within the last twenty years women have been admitted to the classes, and that which was deemed an experiment is pronounced to be a success.

Last, I come to your own universities. Whereas the universities of Germany have been popular but not free, and those of England free but not popular, yours, like those of Scotland, are both popular and free. Their doors are open to every one, and every one enters. They are untrammeled by any religious or political prejudices, even when they are associated with a particular denomination, and they have been, with comparatively few exceptions, managed without any

intrusion of political influences. Many of them allow the student a wider choice among subjects of study and leave him in other ways more free to do as he pleases than is the case in any other institutions in the English-speaking world.

Nor is it only that your universities are accessible to all classes. They have achieved what has never been achieved before, — they have led all classes of the people to believe in the value of university education and wish to attain it. They have made it seem a necessary part of the equipment of every one who can afford the time to take it. In England, and indeed in Europe generally, such an education has been a luxury for the ordinary man, though it may have been reckoned almost a necessity for those who are entering on one of the distinctively "learned professions." But here it is deemed a natural preparation for a business life also; and the proportion of business men who have studied at some university is far larger in the United States than in any other country.

However, it was of your State universities only that I meant to speak, because they are the newest, the most peculiar, and the most interesting product of American educational zeal. They are a remarkable expression of the spirit which has latterly come to pervade this country, that the functions of government may be usefully extended to all sorts of undertakings for the public benefit which it was formerly thought better to leave to private enterprise. The provision of ele-

mentary education was indeed long ago assumed by the State, because it was deemed necessary that those who vote as citizens should possess the rudiments of knowledge. But in going on to found and support and manage institutions supplying the higher forms of education at a low or merely nominal charge, you of the American West went further than any other communities in the English-speaking world. The same principle has guided several of your States, and this State in particular, in so enlarging the range of university action as to bring it into direct contact with the schools and the people through systems of lectures and correspondence and through the multiform activities of the agricultural department. The greatest asset of a community is the energy and intelligence of its members. Your citizens have the energy and you feel it to be "good business" to develop their native intelligence by the completest education they can desire.

In committing yourselves to this principle you here in the West seem to have returned to that conception of the functions of the State which prevailed in the Greek republics of antiquity, where it was defined as "a partnership of men in the highest social life," and you have abandoned that *laissez-faire* doctrine generally held seventy years ago which regarded the governing power in a community as established mainly for the purpose of maintaining civil order within and providing for defence against external foes, and held that to go further than this was to weaken or to tram-

mel individual initiative and to interfere with the generally beneficent working of the natural forces that guide social progress. Whether this reversal of policy was needed in order to give energy and independence their fair chance, for, as J. S. Mill observed, it is even more fatal to exertion to have no hope of succeeding by it than to be assured of succeeding without it, and whether the doctrine of Greece and Wisconsin or the doctrine of the physiocrats and Benthamites will prove in the long run to be the best for the stimulation of inventive thought and enterprise and for the general advance of the community, is a question I will not stop to discuss. This at least may be said, that this particular form of State intervention which the new principle has taken in the West has the merit of associating all the citizens in a direct and personal way with the university, making them feel it to be their creation, arousing the liberality of the legislature to it, and giving the whole State an interest in its prosperity and efficiency.

There are, however, two risks incident to popularly managed governmental control of all institutions of teaching and learning, against which it is well to be forewarned. Although neither you nor your sister State universities may have yet encountered them, they may some day threaten you, for popular management is no guarantee against their appearance.

One of these is the possibility that a legislature, or a governing authority appointed by a legislature, may

carry politics into academical affairs, as politics have been sometimes carried into those affairs in parts of the European Continent where the university is an organ of the State. Freedom is the life-blood of university teaching. Neither the political opinions of a professor, nor the character of the economic doctrines which he holds and propagates, ought to be a ground for appointing or dismissing him, nor ought he to be any less free to speak and vote as he pleases than any other citizen. And though it is right and fitting that the State should be represented in the governing authority of a university which it supports, experience seems to have proved that both the educational policy and the daily administration and discipline of a university ought as far as possible to be either left in academic hands or entrusted to an authority on which the academic element predominates.

The other risk is one to which in our time most universities are exposed, and State universities perhaps even more than others. The progress of natural science has been so rapid, the results obtained by the application of science to all forms of industry and to many forms of commercial exchange, have been so wonderful, the eagerness of every man to amass wealth and of every nation to outstrip its rivals in commerce and material progress is so keen, that the temptation to favour at the expense of other branches of instruction those branches from which pecuniary gain may be expected has become unusually strong.

It is a temptation felt everywhere, in Europe hardly less than here. We constantly hear men who are ready to spend money freely on the so-called practical branches of study, such as mining, agriculture, and electrical engineering, disparage the study of theoretical science as unprofitable, while they seek to eliminate altogether the so-called "humanistic" subjects, such as philology, history, and philosophy.

This is a grave error. In the physical sciences the discoveries of most practical importance have sprung out of investigations undertaken purely for the sake of knowledge, without any notion of those applications to the industries and arts which were to be their ultimate results. These it would indeed have been impossible to foresee. All we know of electricity, of those chemical effects of light which have led to photography, of those properties of certain rays in the spectrum which have proved capable of being turned to such admirable account in surgery, was discovered in the pursuit of abstract science by men who were not thinking of practice or gain and most of whom gained little except fame from their discoveries. None of them dreamed that the telegraph and the dynamo would issue from their experiments any more than Napier when he invented logarithms, or Newton and Leibnitz when they gave us the differential calculus, were thinking of how much these improved mathematical methods would help the engineer in his calculations. All sound practice must be rooted in sound theory, and

the scientific thinking that leads to discovery must begin in the theoretic field. Whatever a nation achieves, whatever a university achieves, is the result of patient observation, close reasoning, and, let me add, of the love of knowledge for its own sake; for the man who is bent only on finding what is pecuniarily profitable will miss many a path at the end of which there stands the figure of Truth, with all the rewards she has to bestow. Just as any nation which should force its children to narrow their energies to purely gainful aims would soon fall behind its competitors, and see its intellectual life fade and wither, so any university which sacrificed its teaching of the theory of science to the teaching of the practical applications of science would be unworthy of its high calling and would handle even the practical part of its work less effectively. The loss of a high ideal means the loss of aspiration, of faith, of vital force.

In no country are these things better understood than in Germany, to which I refer because she has achieved so much in the extension of her commerce and her industry. No country has been more successful in the application of science to the arts, and in none has the need for a wide foundation of abstract scientific teaching been more fully recognized.

The planting and the development of these State Universities and the hold they have acquired upon the people of the State, are among the most cheering evidences of the wisdom and capacity for good work of

your new democracies. They have their defects, but they are filled by the desire to help the common man onward and upward, and to help him in the best way by providing him with the amplest measure of knowledge and mental training so that he may know how to help himself. The peoples of the Western States, most of whom have had no college teaching themselves, show their sense of the worth of learning and culture by the liberality with which they support these institutions and the pride they feel in their prosperity.

These States have made you, the professors and students of their universities, their debtors. How can you repay that debt, and what service can you, some of you as professors remaining here, others as youthful graduates going out into the world, render to your States in return? In order to answer this question, let me first ask another. What is it that the graduate has received? What does he carry away with him as the fruit of the days of study here? What will he remember forty years hence as the best things his university has done for him? If I may judge of what you will then feel from what I and my own contemporaries feel as we look back, through a vista of more than fifty years, to our happy Oxford days, you will then say that your university bestowed on you two gifts of supereminent value.

One was Friendships. The opportunities for making congenial friendships are ampler in college life than ever afterwards. Besides the familiar intercourse of

the class room, and on the campus, and wherever students meet together, the acquiring of knowledge in company is itself a foundation for sympathy. Joint study becomes a bond. To have the same tastes, to enjoy the same books, to work side by side in the laboratory, to help one another in difficulties, to argue out one's differences of opinions, to be inspired by the same ideals and confide them to one another, these are the means by which young men best enter into one another's hearts and hopes, and form ties, which, lasting as long as life itself, may be a source of joy until the end.

The other gift was the delight in Knowledge, a sense of how much there is to be known, of the vast horizon that is ever widening as one goes on learning, of how with each one of us the enlargement of personal knowledge seems only to enlarge the sense of the regions of mystery beyond that horizon. With this delight there goes also a perception of the invaluable help which real knowledge, accurate, thorough, duly arranged and systematized, can render to each man and each community in dealing with the facts of every situation. And with the joy in knowledge there ought to go, and in the minds of all who really enjoy knowledge there will go, the love of Truth. Devotion to truth, loyalty to truth under all temptations, is the intellectual conscience of the man of learning and the man of science; and to create it is the chief aim for the sake of which universities exist. If your univer-

sity teaching and life have not taught you that, they have left the main thing undone.

Is there then not a way in which you as university men going out into the world can repay to your Alma Mater and to your State the debt you owe them? We live in an age when difficulties thicken upon us, when, in spite of the dissatisfaction so frequently expressed with the existing methods of government, new work is being constantly thrust upon governments, when the strife of labor and capital and the social unrest that growls and mutters all around us make it at once more necessary to determine what justice requires and harder to persuade any section of the community to recede from its claims. Never was there a more urgent need either for applying every kind of knowledge to the solution of these problems, or for trying to seek the solution in a spirit free from all prejudice or bias. Your university studies have taught you both to realize the worth of thorough and systematized knowledge and to moderate the vehemence of partisanship by a disinterested devotion to truth. Thus you can contribute to the community of which you are citizens three things. One is the spirit of progress, which is hopeful because it is always seeking to better things by knowledge and skill. Another is the spirit of moderation, cautious because it resists the temptations of party passion, or the impulse, often honest enough, to grasp at the first hasty expedient for removing admitted evils without considering whether

that may not involve other evils just as great. And the third is the love of truth, which, when it is strong enough, will help a man to overcome the promptings of personal ambition or the baser lures which the power of selfish wealth can offer.

It has sometimes been claimed for the University that it is the mind of the State, or at least the organ which the State may employ to examine and think out the problems the State has to deal with. That may be too large a claim. But I am speaking now not so much of the university as a body of men organized in an institution dedicated to teaching and research but rather of those children of the university who go forth from it into the world, preserving the real academic spirit through the whole of their business or professional careers, furnishing skilled leaders in political and social movements, and forming the public opinion of the whole community by which nation and State, more truly here in America than anywhere else in the world, are led and ruled. Upon these citizens comes with special force the call to translate into reality that noble ideal of an educated democracy, reasonable and just because it is educated, which the people of America have long ago set up for themselves, and towards which, through many obstacles, they are steadily and surely moving.

THE ART OF AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS AT WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 15TH, 1908.

THE ART OF AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS AT WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 15TH, 1908.

MY only justification for appearing here to say a few words in honor of the illustrious artist you are met to commemorate is the fact that Augustus Saint-Gaudens was born in Ireland and of an Irish mother. I will not dispute with my friend and colleague the Ambassador of France how much of his artistic genius is due to Ireland, and whether it bears the stamp of the Gallo-Roman branch or of the Gaelic branch of the Celtic race. But all of it that can be deemed possibly attributable to Ireland I am going to claim for Ireland, and that for a special reason. Ireland has, as all the world knows, given to the British Isles, and also to this country, a great number of men famous in literature, famous in science, famous in war, famous in government. What would you have done in the United States without Irishmen to manage your affairs of State? But in proportion to the genius her children have shown in other directions, Ireland has given to the Fine Arts, as even her admirers must admit, comparatively few men of first-rate eminence, and this is the more remarkable because the ancient Celtic work

of the churches and monumental crosses of Ireland is full of richness and beauty. So desiring to secure for my island all the artistic honours possible, I must claim Saint-Gaudens for it. I had intended to have dwelt upon the inspiration which he derived in his early years in Dublin from the picturesque and romantic scenery which surrounds that ancient city, but, unfortunately, I committed the fault — unpardonable in a man with some experience in these matters, and a fault which I hereby warn you against — of trying to verify my facts by reference to the original authorities, and I found that Saint-Gaudens quitted Dublin at the age of six months. So I must fall back upon that native quality which he drew from his Irish mother.

I will not attempt, after what has been said by previous speakers, and especially after that analysis of his genius, at once vigorous and delicate, which was given by the President of the United States, to fix the place which Saint-Gaudens holds among those who have adorned the splendid art of sculpture, an art which has, ever since the great Italian masters died out nearly four centuries ago, held in the field of modern achievement a place that seems small when we compare it with that supremacy yielded to it in the artistic production of the ancient world, and which it almost regained in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among those men who stand preëminent in sculpture since the death of Michael Angelo, the highest renown seems to have fallen to the Italian

Canova and the Icelander Thorwaldson, and it came to these two not so much through any new creative quality they revealed in plastic work or any personal originality that shone out in their own conceptions, as by the fact that they reproduced the kind of beauty and the type of artistic thought which inspired the art of the Greeks. Thus admirable as is the genius of both, they seem to us to be revivifying, so far as moderns can, the manner of Greece rather than to have renewed those traditions of the grand style of the Renaissance whose latest expressions are to be found in the marvellous figures of the Laurentian chapel at Florence and in those which stand around the tomb of the Emperor Maximilian at Innsbruck.

Without venturing into the dangerous field of theorizing about art or attempting to indicate the elements that go to the making of its highest forms, I suppose we may all agree in thinking that there are in sculpture three more or less distinctive kinds of excellence. There is the excellence which consists in the faithful reproduction of nature; there is the excellence in which we admire pure beauty of form and line; and there is the excellence which makes its special appeal to the imagination of the beholder because it proceeds from the imagination of the artist himself. When he has the power of speaking to our intellect and emotions straight out of his own mind, he enables us to realize not only how the subject presented itself to his thought, but what was really

the deepest and most essential thing in his subject itself. If the subject be a person, he reveals the innermost nature of the man portrayed. If it is a scene, he brings out the true and permanent meaning it will have for the long Hereafter. To possess any one of these excellences in high measure is to be great. To possess all three in such measure is to attain perfection. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, we may probably agree, stood preëminent in the third. His highest gift was his power of imaginative conception. As all the great men that have left their mark in the world of affairs have been great by combining the power of thinking with energy, promptitude, and courage in action, so all the men that have been great in the fields of literature and art have been great by combining the power of thinking with the power of feeling, that is, the capacity of receiving and giving out an emotional impression. Now what most strikes us in Saint-Gaudens' works is that, whatever else we find, we find an intense and profound power of thinking combined with an equal power of feeling. Look around upon these works in this room. Does he not seem to you, whenever he approached a subject, be it a man or an incident, to have sat down and meditated, slowly and patiently, until he had discovered for himself exactly what lay at the foundation of the man's character or what it was that struck the deepest chord of human nature in the incident? Then, pervaded by this thought, he set himself to represent and express that which belonged to the man or to the inci-

dent, and he did express it with an unerring accuracy and a rarely equalled power. This accuracy was due to his possessing, along with high ideals, a patience that grudged no pains. He kept some of his works for years in his studio after others had thought them complete, touching and retouching them till they were brought nearer to the standard of perfection he had set up. One of his disciples remembers a day when in modelling an arm for a figure he moulded and threw away more than twenty attempts to get in the clay exactly the shape and contour he desired.

Think of any one of his greatest works. Look at that noble statue of President Lincoln in the park at Chicago, in which the grandeur of the man transforms and triumphs over all those difficulties and defects which the figure and the clothing presented and which might have appeared inconsistent with Hellenic ideas of beauty and grace.

Think of that solemn and majestic figure of Sorrow in the Rock Creek Cemetery here at Washington which seems by mere form and posture to have succeeded in expressing what has seldom been expressed by sculptor or painter, though the greatest masters of music have been able to express it through sound. It touches us like a requiem by Mozart or one of those pieces of Chopin in which the very soul of sadness seems to speak through the chords.

Think of that infinitely pathetic figure of the young hero of New England, Robert Shaw, as you see him

in the bas-relief on the border of Boston Common — the young hero of New England riding calmly to his fate at the head of his soldiers, soldiers of another race just delivered from slavery. The shadow of death rests already upon him.

Sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra.[1]

When you think of works like those, in which the loftiest imagination has been accompanied with the most finished grace of execution, you feel how great a genius it has been the privilege of your age to possess in the artist whose memory we have met to honour.

The danger or the weakness which is sometimes found to accompany this power of imaginative expression is that it is apt to lapse into something extravagant or sensational. Nothing was farther from Saint-Gaudens. In that respect he had the balance and self-restraint, as well as the fine sense of beauty and measure, which belonged to his Greek masters. It is by that, we may believe, — by the power of imaginative conception and expression, combined with calmness and self-restraint, — that he will live in the admiring memory of all who love and prize art in every country. Most of all will he live in America, which did not, indeed, give him birth, but which received him as a child, which helped him, which cherished him, which recognized his gifts as though he had been one of her

[1] Aeneid VI, of the young Marcellus.

own children, which gave him those noble subjects from her own history with which his name will always be associated. He deserves to be remembered forever among you as one of the artistic glories of your country.

ARCHITECTURE AND HISTORY

ADDRESS AT A BANQUET OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS IN WASHINGTON, DECEMBER, 1908.

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MY first duty is to thank you for the way in which you have received the toast to which I am desired to respond. I was touched by the simple manner in which your President gave the toast, "The King." He gave it in the same way in which it might have been given in A.D. 1759 in the North American colonies, when all patriotic hearts were swelling with pride at the news of the victory won by Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham and the winning of all North America for the benefit of those colonies. A good deal of water has flowed under the bridges of the Potomac since 1759; but things have got back, so far as relates to spirit and sentiment, to what they were just one hundred and fifty years ago, and I hope and believe that under this new order of things, when this gigantic Republic has for more than a century and a quarter managed its affairs in this continent in its own way, and when for nearly a century undisturbed peace has existed between Great Britain and the United States, the ties of sentiment, feeling, and affection which unite the two branches of the ancient stock are, and will remain, as deep and

as strong as ever they were in the days of political union.

It is a pleasure to be the guest of the American Institute of Architects. I have always, as a humble layman, not understanding the principles and methods of the splendid art which you practise, but admiring its results, felt a very keen interest in your profession, and have thought it must be one of the most agreeable professions that a man could enter. There is, of course, one drawback connected with it — that vexation which an architect must experience when his beautiful designs for a building, grand in its lines and refined in its ornament, are frustrated by the unresponsive tastelessness and tame ideas of the person for whom the building is to be erected and who probably prefers internal comfort to external beauty. That must be often a source of sore disappointment to you. But after all, every profession has its drawbacks. *Quisque suos patimur Manes.* In my own profession, that of the law, it does sometimes happen that the most eloquent speeches which are directed to secure the acquittal of a guilty man are neglected by a stupid jury. It does sometimes happen in the profession of medicine that a person whose malady has been pronounced incurable by a skilful practitioner subsequently recovers, and that his recovery is attributed not to the skill of the physician labouring against hope, but to the strength of the patient's constitution. It sometimes happens in the profession of the journalist that the efforts which the

reporter who interviews a criminal makes to obtain absolute accuracy about the details of the crime are not successful, and that he does not even get credit for the strenuousness of those efforts. And I confess it is a serious drawback to the profession of the politician and legislator that one-half of his time and effort is apt to be spent, not in securing the passing of good laws, but in preventing the passing of those laws, be they good or bad, which the opposite party seeks to pass.

You, gentlemen (I am reminded of this by my reference to the transitory character of a great deal of the work politicians do), have one satisfaction which belongs to you, as compared with some of those other professions I have referred to. It is this: You do attain a solid, visible, tangible result. You produce something. There is the building. It stands there for the world to look at, and for yourself to admire. It stands; it continues to serve some useful purposes; it is there as something definitely attained and effected; and if after some fifty or sixty years faults in the construction cause it perchance to totter and fall, by that time it will have been forgotten who was the architect; and as for yourself, you will not suffer from any criticism, because you will be elsewhere, and will no doubt be enjoying a happiness sufficient to make you entirely indifferent to criticism.

So I come back to the conclusion that you are, on the whole, fortunate in your profession. And you have

one other great advantage. You are following a profession, the study of which, pursued in an æsthetic as well as scientific spirit all your life through, and consisting largely in examining the masterpieces of architecture that have been erected before our own time, and in our own time, is in itself altogether profitable and delightful.

Now, I cannot honestly say that the whole of the study of the law is enjoyable. In every system of law there is much that is artificial. The system of procedure is full of dreary technicalities which sometimes obstruct the march of justice. Statutes contain many arbitrary rules. There are cases which establish precedents that have to be followed because the decision was so given, although we think them opposed to sound principle. But you are not hampered in any such way. You have to follow principles based on science, and canons of taste which have been, for the most part, settled by the practice of the greatest among your predecessors, while nevertheless leaving ample scope for your own sense of beauty in their application to the objects of the building and the conditions of the spot in which it is to be placed. A large part of your training consists in the study of the noblest works erected by men of genius in earlier times. In the study of those which remain from antiquity in Egypt, Greece, and Italy, and in the study of the far greater number produced in the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance in many parts of Europe, you have an ever fresh

and undiluted source of pleasure. I can remember no happier days than I have spent,—and I am sure they would have been still more happy had it been my good fortune to possess a special and technical knowledge of your art,—in examining and sometimes trying to sketch old churches and old castles and old city walls and municipal buildings and palaces, especially in the cities of Italy and Spain. One can hardly think of any higher or keener enjoyment than lies in seeing what man has done in the effort to combine beauty and convenience in buildings meant to endure, and in following by the light of history the progress of architecture from Greek and Roman days down to the eighteenth century, as one sees that progress in Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Britain. To this I may add that your art has a special claim upon all who love the past, because it is, more than any other art, the sister and interpreter of history. There is nothing that helps so much to a comprehension of history as the study of the buildings of a country. In them you see how men faced the conditions of their life; you see exactly what they needed in the way of defence and in the way of comfort; you see what form of structure and what internal arrangements the usages of religion prescribed for houses of worship; you see by tracing the type of buildings in each particular province or district of a country what were the racial, political, and cultural influences that operated upon that district at the time when the building you are studying

was erected; and you are able, in a word, to make the buildings of a country illustrate its history and make its history explain the buildings. Someone ought to write a manual of travel for those who visit civilized countries, such as the Manual Francis Galton, compiled for explorers in wild countries thirty years ago; and in such a manual there might well be allotted to the elements of architectural history a chapter sufficiently full to enable an intelligent observer to find pleasure in the study of buildings as well as of Nature. It is a pleasure which has this advantage, that one can hunt up buildings both in city and in country, whereas in the city one can pursue no branch of natural history other than the discovery of microbes. I doubt if there is anything which could be better done for a student of history than to send him on an architectural tour through France, for instance; make him learn to comprehend the Northern, Eastern, and Southern types of building, and to distinguish between the subdivisions of these types, and to comprehend what were the influences that gave one character to the churches of Lorraine or of Burgundy, let us say, and other characters to those of Provence or Aquitaine. How interesting it is to compare the Romanesque of Germany with the more generally graceful Romanesque of France and the perhaps almost more perfect work of the same age in the churches of such a Spanish city as Avila. Everywhere the buildings interpret the age and the age interprets the buildings.

When one thinks of all the exquisite monuments of architectural genius which adorn such a country as Italy or France, one has to remember that they represent the accumulated ingenuity and skill and labour and taste of many generations of men. No one of those generations of men ever had such opportunities as architects both here and in England have during the last sixty years enjoyed. It is true that artistic designers of the last sixty years have not had quite so free a field as we assume that your predecessors had in the Renaissance, because they have been more hampered by committees, boards of trustees, municipal councils and other authorities who cannot realize, as did Lorenzo the Magnificent at Florence or King John III of Portugal, or other equally large-minded princes, that the great architect ought to have *carte blanche* for the building he has planned. But, except as respects that difficulty, you have enjoyed in this country, and in western Europe also, extraordinary opportunities during more than half a century of economic prosperity. Never, I suppose, was there a time when so many edifices, and so many large and important edifices, were erected, when there was so general an interest in building, and when so much money was lavishly spent in bricks and mortar. In England we developed some seventy years ago a sudden access of zeal in ecclesiastical matters which not only covered the outskirts of our growing cities with new churches, but set people to the repairing of old churches. And I

grieve to have to confess that this zeal has in one way worked for evil rather than good. We have committed a crime which you here could not commit — I hope that even if the opportunity had presented itself you would not have committed it, but have resisted the temptation. Anyhow, the opportunity did not come to you; and to us it did come, and we, purely from want of thought, yielded to the temptation. We have been restoring not only some of our cathedrals, but many of our ancient parish churches, — of which there were more that had come down untouched from before the Reformation of the sixteenth century than any other country could boast, — and having sometimes restored them almost out of recognition, we have unfortunately obliterated a great deal of the history that was written in those churches. The same thing has happened in France, but not so widely, because not so much interest has been taken there in the parish churches. Some of the French cathedrals, however, have suffered more seriously than any English cathedral. The vast and splendid cathedral church of Perigueux, probably the grandest building of Byzantine character north of the Alps, has been so transformed by restoration that it is practically impossible to discover the features it had half a century ago. As regards England, it was not till after much irreparable harm had been done that between twenty and thirty years ago an enlightened band of scholars and artists, the most energetic and conspicuous of whom was

the poet William Morris, took the field and exerted themselves to rouse the public and to stop, as far as possible, the process of transmogrifying an old church into something that was neither new nor old, but a hopeless jumble. The work of ruin has now been checked, but the harm already done is a calamity to weep over. Here you have not had ancient buildings to injure, and historical feeling has made you spare most of the buildings that possessed any sort of interest and dated more than a century back.

This, however, is a digression. I return to the main subject by observing that neither in England nor anywhere in western Europe has full use been made of the opportunities for the display of original genius in architecture which the expenditure of vast sums of money on the erection of an immense number of buildings provided. We have not succeeded there, nor any more do architects in Germany or France seem to have succeeded, in evolving anything that can be called a new style distinctive of our age. When we look back upon every century from the end of the eighteenth to the beginnings of the West European Romanesque type of building in the tenth or eleventh century, we see that the buildings of almost every age show something that is characteristic of the time, some forms which at once denote to us the date of the work. But if we look at the work of our own and of the last century — and the same thing is as generally true in France and Germany as in Britain — we see a motley array of all sorts of

different styles, from the eleventh century to the eighteenth. I speak chiefly of ecclesiastical architecture, for of course in private residences and municipal buildings some styles are less convenient for practical purposes than others. Efforts are sometimes made to combine the features of different styles, but this eclecticism is seldom successful, and the total result in beautiful and impressive buildings is not worthy of the amount of knowledge and pains that has been devoted to the work as a whole and of the amount of money that has been spent upon it. Some fine things have been produced, but few in proportion to the whole.

Neither have you here in the United States developed any characteristically American style of building since the so-called "colonial" type of pre-Revolutionary days. There is no style distinctive of the different sections of the country, except a few traces of Spanish work in Santa Fe (in New Mexico), and here and there in California, and a touch of French influence in the older parts of New Orleans. Nowhere in the western world does one find any parallel to the long architectural history of Europe or of India. Even in Spanish America, where people built from the first in stone, whereas your ancestors built in wood, there is little variety. Nearly all the churches and public buildings vary but little from the prevalent sixteenth century type which the Spaniards brought with them from Europe. Will this be always so, or will you of

the New World, after two, three or four centuries, develop one or more styles characteristic of America, and offer to the historians of a still distant future a field of study like that which the Old World presents to us now?

Here in the United States you seem to have made one new departure in which you have gone ahead of us Europeans. Your designs for houses in cities, and perhaps even more for suburban houses and seaside cottages, have more variety, more freshness, more charm than the designs of those descriptions have in most parts of Europe. You have certainly made more use in cities of some of the earlier mediæval forms of architecture than we have succeeded in doing in England, and in that respect your recent work may show more originality than ours does. But still, you would probably agree that you have not yet succeeded either in inventing a new style, which perhaps may (for all we laymen know) be impossible, — for, after all, the possibilities of invention are limited, — or in so combining and harmonizing some of the features of different styles as to make one which shall be distinctive of the nineteenth or twentieth century. Now that is just what the students of history would be now looking out for and longing for, if there were grounds for expecting it. Three or four hundred years hence, when the student follows the course of the development of architecture from the tenth century to his own time, he will find, as he descends the stream of

time to the eighteenth, that there is a regular succession of forms of construction and decoration, and that he can approximately fix the date of a building by its general style and structure as well as by its mouldings and its ornaments. But when he comes to the nineteenth century he would be completely at a loss. He will find that of three churches erected about the same time, one was designed to reproduce the style of the twelfth century, another that of the fifteenth, a third that of the seventeenth. So the historically minded layman feels, when he tries to project himself into the position of an historian living in the twenty-fourth century, that this latter would rejoice to be able to realize what the twentieth century had been doing through its buildings as we to-day realize what the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries did.

There is, at any rate, a wide field still open in this country for inventive genius. You have had several architects of unquestioned genius, and will doubtless have more. Your wealth, the growth of your population, your noble contempt for expense, your boldness and grandeur of conception are known to all men on both sides of the Atlantic.

The new Central Station at Washington, with its two long vaulted halls, is as fine as anything of the kind in Europe. Still vaster and more majestic are the halls of the station which the Pennsylvania railroad company is erecting in New York. I have seen magnificent plans for the decoration of Washington; I have seen a

still more wonderful plan for the building of a new Chicago out in the lake, a plan which we in England, or indeed people anywhere in Europe, would not be able to consider on the score of cost. But expense has for you no terrors. I will not say that there is nothing that Congress will not do for Washington, because I am told that you and other men of light and leading have projects looking to the beautifying of Washington for which Congress is still hesitating to vote the money required; but I know that there is nothing that Chicago fears to do if it will increase the splendour of that great city, and I dare say that is true of many other cities also. He who marvels at the gigantic schemes that are being attempted in New York and Chicago, is ready to believe that there is no enterprise designed for the benefit of such great communities from which its liberal and large-minded citizens will recoil on the score of cost.

I congratulate you, therefore, not only on the attractions of the profession to which you belong, but on the great opportunities which are open to you. We shall watch you from our side of the Atlantic without any jealousy of your superior wealth, but with admiration of your energy and with high hopes of what you will achieve for the adornment of those enormous cities which have sprung up on the North American Continent.

THE CHARACTER AND CAREER OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

DELIVERED AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, FEBRUARY 12, 1909.

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YOU are met to commemorate a great man, one of your greatest, great in what he did, even greater in what he was. One hundred years have passed since in that lowly hut in the neighbouring state of Kentucky this child of obscure and unlettered parents was born into a country then still wild and thinly peopled. Three other famous men were born in that same year in England: Alfred Tennyson, the most gifted poet who has used our language since Wordsworth died; William Gladstone, the most powerful, versatile, and high-minded statesman of the last two generations in Britain; and Charles Darwin, the greatest naturalist since Linnæus, and chief among the famous scientific discoverers of the nineteenth century. It was a wonderful year, and one who knew these three illustrious Englishmen whom I have named is tempted to speak of them and compare and contrast each one of them with that illustrious contemporary of theirs whose memory we are met to honour. He quitted this

world long before them, but with a record of great work done to which a long life could scarcely have added any further lustre.

Of the personal impression he made on those who knew him, you will hear from some of the few yet living who can recollect him. All I can contribute is a reminiscence of what reached us in England. I was an undergraduate student in the University of Oxford when the Civil War broke out. Well do I remember the surprise we felt when the Republican national convention nominated him as candidate for the Presidency, for his name was hardly known on our side of the Atlantic, and it had been expected that the choice would fall upon William H. Seward. I recollect how it slowly dawned upon Europeans in 1862 and 1863 that the President could be no ordinary man, because he never seemed cast down by the reverses which befell his armies; because he never let himself be hurried into premature action, and because he did not fear to take so bold a step as was the Emancipation Proclamation when he saw that the right moment had arrived. And above all I remember the shock of awe and grief which thrilled all Britain when the news came that he had perished by the bullet of an assassin. There have been not a few murders of the heads of states in our time, but none smote us with such horror and such pity as the death of this strong and merciful man, just when his long and patient efforts had been crowned with victory, and peace was begin-

ning to shed her rays over a land laid waste by the march of armies.

We in England then already felt that a great as well as a good man had departed, though it remained for later years to enable us all (both you here and us in the other hemisphere) fully to appreciate his greatness. Both among you and with us his fame has continued to rise till he has now become one of the grandest figures whom America has given to World history, to be a glory first of this country, then also of mankind.

A man may be great by intellect or by character or by both. The highest men are great by both; and of these was Abraham Lincoln. Endowed with powers that were solid rather than shining, he was not what is called a brilliant personality. Perhaps the want of instruction and stimulation during his early life prevented his naturally vigorous mind from learning how to work nimbly. Yet the disadvantages of his boyhood, the want of books and of teachers and of the society of men with powers comparable to his own, were all so met and overcome by his love of knowledge and his strenuous will that he drew strength from them. Thoughtfulness and intensity, the capacity to reflect steadily and patiently on a problem till it has been solved, is one of the two most distinct impressions which one gets from that strong, rugged face with its furrowed brow and deep-set eyes.

The other impression is that of unshaken and unshakable resolution. Slow in reaching a decision, he

held fearlessly to it when he had reached it. He had not merely physical courage, and that in ample measure, but the rarer quality of being willing to face misconception and unpopularity. It was his undaunted firmness and his clear thinking that fitted Lincoln to be the pilot who brought your ship through the wildest tempest that ever broke upon her.

Three points should not be forgotten which, if they do not add to Lincoln's greatness, make it more winning and attractive. One is the fact that he rose all unaided to the pinnacle of power and responsibility. Rarely indeed has it happened in history, hardly at all could it have happened in the last century outside America, that one born in poverty, with no help throughout his youth from intercourse with educated people, with no friend to back him except those whom the impression of his own character drew around him, should so rise. A second is the gentleness of his heart. He who has to refuse every hour requests from those whom a private person would have been glad to indulge, he who has to punish those whom a private person would pity and pardon, can seldom retain either tenderness or patience. But Lincoln's tenderness and patience were inexhaustible.

It is often said that every great man is unscrupulous, and doubtless most of those to whom usage has attached the title have been so. To preserve truthfulness and conscientiousness appears scarcely possible in the stress of life where immense issues seem to make it neces-

sary, and therefore to make it right, to toss aside the ordinary rules of conduct in order to secure the end desired. To Abraham Lincoln, however, truthfulness and conscientiousness remained the rule of life. He felt and owned his responsibility not only to the people, but to a higher power. Few rulers who have wielded like power amid like temptations have so stainless a record.

To you, men of Illinois, Lincoln is the most famous and worthy of all those who have adorned your Commonwealth. To you, citizens of the United States, he is the President who carried you through a terrible conflict and saved the Union. To us in England, he is one of the heroes of the race whence you and we spring. We honour his memory as you do, and it is fitting that one who is privileged here to represent the land from which his forefathers came should bring, on behalf of England, a tribute of admiration for him and of thankfulness to the Providence which gave him to you in your hour of need.

Great men are the noblest possession of a nation and are potent forces in the moulding of national character. Their influence lives after them, and, if they be good as well as great, they remain as beacons lighting the course of all who follow them. They set for succeeding generations the standards of the youth who seek to emulate their virtues in the service of the country. Thus did the memory of George Washington stir and rouse Lincoln himself. Thus will the

memory of Lincoln live and endure among you, gathering reverence from age to age, the memory of one who saved your republic by his wisdom, his constancy, his faith in the people and in freedom; the memory of a plain and simple man, yet crowned with the knightly virtues of truthfulness, honour, and courage.

THE SCOTO-IRISH RACE IN ULSTER AND IN AMERICA

ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE SCOTCH-IRISH SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, FEBRUARY, 1909.

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WHOEVER wanders hither and thither over the United States, as the occupant of the post I hold is expected to do, finds no small pleasure in noting how the various racial stocks that have planted themselves in the United States, and now make up its population, love to commemorate each its own race and the land whence it came. To remember Germany or Norway or Sweden or Scotland or Ireland does not make a man any the less a good American citizen, and it adds to the interest of his life and to the width of his outlook over the world that he should feel he has another land, another race, another literature, other historical traditions, with which he can associate his memories and his sympathies. The man of German extraction has Goethe and Schiller to be proud of, and is the more drawn to retain or to learn their tongue; the Icelander or Norwegian may read the ancient Sagas of his land and stir his soul by recalling the exploits of the heroes of Viking days. So even for a stock like the Scoto-Irish which has for centuries been a part of the British race and speaks the English tongue it is well that societies like yours should exist to recall

and emphasize the further and more special tie which binds you to one part of the British Isles besides that tie which all Americans, of whatever origin, have to our island realm, in language and literature, in traditions and institutions.

Now, gentlemen, before I come to speak of this Scotch-Irish, let me say in passing that it might very nearly have been a Dutch-Irish Society. It is said that there was a time near the end of the sixteenth century when the Dutch of the United Provinces, being then very hard pressed by Spain, received an offer from the English government that if they would abandon Holland and sail off in ships that were to be provided for them, they should be settled in Ireland and there receive plenty of land and every encouragement. The Might Have Beens of history are always an interesting topic of speculation. Had the British offer been accepted, the incoming Dutch would, as Protestants, have in two generations blent with the English and Scotch elements. Ireland might have been a half Dutch country, and the whole subsequent history of the island would have been different. Whether it would have been a history of peaceful progress I will not now enquire — one always walks over hot ashes in discussing Irish history — but it might well have been more happy than were the annals of Ireland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet what Ireland might have gained by the addition to her population, then far less than the island could support,

of a valuable and industrious element, Continental Europe would have lost, and the East too would have lost, for there might have been no Dutch Empire there.

Let those things be as they were, or as they might have been, the historian cannot but rejoice to see that you in the United States take so keen a pleasure in recalling the different racial stocks from which you come. This sort of connection with the Old World, a connection which some of you are too apt to forget, because it is a fault of our time to ignore the past and think that it does not matter, adds to the interest of your life in the New. It adds to the richness of your own thoughts and memories that you are able to go back from the country in which fate and the wanderings of your parents have placed you, and connect yourselves with some particular part of the Old World and with its history and its associations. You look backward to two very remarkable stocks. Your position is exceptional because you look back not to one stock but to two. As Scotch-Irish, you are the offspring of two races: one of them — the Irish — is Celtic; the other, the Scottish, is half Celtic and half Teutonic, for the people of Scotland are a blend of two Teutonic elements, the Anglian and the Norse, with two Celtic elements, the Gaelic and the Cymric. (There are also the Picts, but you will not expect me to venture to say who the Picts were.)

I do not suppose that there ever were two peoples who, considering how small were their numbers, have

made a greater noise in the world than the Irish and Scotch, and you claim kinship with and descent from both of those, the Scotch element probably contributing most of the blood.

Like other great and good things, both the Irish and the Scotch peoples have had their detractors. Criticisms have been passed upon them. It has been said of the one race that it was reckless, dashing, bold, extravagant, imprudent. It has been said of the other race that it was dry, cautious, even parsimonious. I will not stop to enquire whether these charges are justly brought against either, for the sufficient reason that you are neither pure Scotch nor pure Irish, but a blend of both, and I never heard any charge whatever against the blend, except that of having "an unco guid conceit" of itself. On the contrary, it is well understood — all those historians whose tales of your settlement here and achievements for America I have perused seem to agree — that the Scotch-Irish or Irish-Scotch, whichever way you like to have it, combine the characteristic virtues of both the races, that they unite the tenacity, perseverance, and shrewdness of the Scotsman of Alban with the fire, dash, and geniality of the Celt of Erin, and that these are the qualities which have made them valued not only in the United Kingdom, as I shall presently show you, but also in this land of their adoption. So far as my own personal observation goes they have really only two defects, and those defects may be deemed to be rather the excess of good qualities. You,

Mr. President, referred to the experience I had when for fourteen months it was my duty and function, not a light one, to be virtually responsible for the government of Ireland and for the maintenance of law and order there. I found then that there were only two slight defects that could be charged against the people of Ireland, especially of the north of Ireland, from which your ancestors came. One was that they valued so highly the right of free speech that they were in the habit of expressing their views of politics, church history, and theology, and especially their opinions about one another, at regularly recurring moments, and they used to choose for those moments anniversaries which long habit had associated with party passions. The Protestants chose the 12th of July, the anniversary of the battle of Aughrim, and the Roman Catholics chose the 17th of March, a day which ought not to have gathered to itself any partisan associations, because it belongs to a saint, a Briton by birth, who had a sweet and saintly character, and cherished no animosity except to poisonous reptiles. On these occasions historical sentiment, a good thing enough at proper times, frequently gave rise to scenes that were not altogether peaceful, because the other defect I have referred to — which might again be described as the excess of a virtue, — their manly readiness to face danger on behalf of their opinions, led them to be decidedly more combative than was necessary or conducive to the peace of the country.

It was often my painful duty, since I recognized the maintenance of order to be the first and most obvious duty of my office, to warn each party that they must not hold meetings in places where there was likely to be an armed collision with the other party, and even to direct a force of police to be present at spots where it was probable that collisions would occur and that combats would follow; nor was this duty the easier because partisans on each side attacked the Government whether it permitted or prohibited the meeting. But it all — meetings and prohibitions, and even collisions — went along with very little of real bitterness, one might almost say with a certain measure of good humour; and no one who does not know Ireland can know with how much good humour its people can, as soon as the actual fighting is over, look back upon the conflicts of the factions. Strong language and even a little fighting are understood to be part of the game which the parties have been accustomed to play, and there is much less of bad blood and ill feeling left behind than people in England suppose. Ireland is, after all, a very charming and winning country. Factions in Ireland do not really hate one another as outsiders are apt to fancy. They have been fighting, more or less, for over two centuries, and have got accustomed to it, and take it less seriously than is supposed by those who are not to the manner born. Sometimes I used to think that those who denounced a Chief Secretary for prohibiting a meeting or procession

would have been disappointed, and would indeed have thought poorly of him, if he had not issued the prohibition. To issue it was expected from him, and, as you might say, was understood to be his part of the game. Anyone who has to govern Ireland is likely to come in for plenty of criticism, and will receive most of it when he tries to be absolutely just and impartial, for then both sides fire into him. But at the same time he is certain to leave the country with sincere regret, feeling that he has enjoyed his time there, and loving the people even more than he did before. That was my experience.

Now this tendency to pugnacity for which your ancestors in Ireland, especially in the north of Ireland, were famous, was the same quality that led the Scoto-Irish settlers when they came over here to press to the front, and to take up the borderland of Pennsylvania, protecting the more peaceful Quakers and German Moravians who lived between them and the sea, and choosing for themselves the arduous task of subduing the wilderness and defending the frontiers of civilization against the Indian tribes. And a very fine record they made. Many of the most stalwart and daring men of whom this country holds memory were the original settlers of northern and western Pennsylvania, the fathers of the men who passed from Pennsylvania across the mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee, and southward into western Virginia and the Carolinas and Georgia. A great deal of the best blood, and a great deal of the finest intellect that has shown itself in the

history of the southern United States is due to the men who sprang from that stock.

They came hither for a reason which deserves to win sympathy and respect for them. The earliest settlers of New England left Old England in order to have liberty to worship God in their own way, and the earliest settlers who came to Pennsylvania from Ulster came out because, having been brought over from Scotland on a promise of land and good treatment in the north of Ireland, they found themselves ill treated and almost persecuted by the Episcopalian government in the Ireland of that day, a day of general religious intolerance. They did not get such good conditions of land tenure as they expected; and, what galled them far more, they were not able to obtain that full freedom and equality for the exercise of their religion and their civil rights which they were entitled to count on. That was one main cause why they emigrated to these colonies, and one main cause also why they were foremost in vindicating the claims of the colonists when trouble arose between the latter and the mother country. It is, moreover, an interesting historical fact that the system of Presbyterian church government which these settlers brought with them had much to do with the formation of a republican spirit in this country and with the growth of those habits which enabled your ancestors to work republican institutions. The machinery of that system is eminently republican, for it consists of representative councils, leading up to a supreme representative body,

the General Assembly. The traditions and habits it had formed proved useful when your forefathers began here to organize the constitutional bases of your Commonwealths. One of the foremost champions of the claims of the colonial insurgents was a Scotch Presbyterian minister, John Witherspoon, president of Princeton College and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

You have heard so often of the Scotch Irishmen who have attained eminence in the United States that I need say but few words regarding them. It is a long list, even if you omit one alleged to have belonged to the Scoto-American race, Captain Kidd, the famous, or notorious, pirate. One may count four, five, or perhaps even six, Presidents, and you have some claim — I am not sure of its strength — to a man greater than any of those Presidents, Chief Justice John Marshall, as belonging to the stock. But the persons who have figured most in American history have been the fiery rhetorician Patrick Henry, the combative and sometimes headstrong Andrew Jackson, and the still more remarkable John C. Calhoun, whose relentless logic gave to South Carolina the impulse that made her ultimately the leader in Secession. Calhoun applied to politics a thoroughly Calvinistic line of thought, though whether it was Calvinistic theology that formed the logical precision and liking for a stringent symmetry of doctrine that belong to the Scottish mind, or whether the Scots took to Calvinistic theology be-

cause it suited their natural taste and bent, might be a subject of enquiry for the curious. In these men the lineaments of the race from which you spring were unmistakable. In its later ornaments they are less evident. Take the race all in all, it has deserved well of the United States. I will not dwell upon the inventors, like Robert Fulton, nor upon the many estimable clergymen, local leaders of opinion, who edified their congregations at a length which commanded admiration in those days as much as it would repel the weaklings of our own time. But let us not forget to pay a respectful tribute to the men, clerical and lay, who worked for education with the true Scottish spirit, and also to the pioneers who went out, southward and westward, from Pennsylvania, tough and valiant men, prepared to face the hardships of a lonely life and the perils of the wilderness, carrying with them into it nothing but their axe and their gun and their Bible, ready to spend their lives in winning for those who came after, that security which you now enjoy.

It was a strong race, one of the strongest that has gone to the making of this now composite nation, in which it is beginning to be hard to trace the several threads that have been woven on the loom of Time into the tissue. Some students of history have wished that each racial stock of settlers, Irish and Germans and Scandinavians and Italians and Poles had each been left to occupy a region by itself, where its old idiosyncrasy could have been developed under new conditions

into new forms which would yet have retained a touch of the old quality. But perhaps the mingling of all together into one vast nation gives to that nation more flexibility and versatility, and makes it fitter to meet the varying calls of a civilization which grows always more complex.

Now let me turn to the Scotch-Irish in their earlier home. Having spent part of my boyhood in Ulster and frequently revisited it, I may be able to tell you something about your Ulster forefathers. When I first knew the north of Ireland there were a large number of people there who spoke broad Scotch, just the same broad Scotch that you would have then heard in Ayrshire or Galloway, and who considered themselves to be for every purpose Scotch, so much so that in the years between 1845 and 1850 I have heard many an old farmer in the County of Down or the County of Antrim talk of the Roman Catholic Irish who inhabited the mountainous districts, such as the Glens of Antrim and the Mourne Mountains, into which the Scottish immigrants had rather unceremoniously driven them, as "Those Irish," or (to be quite literal) in broad Scotch they said, "Thae Eerish." In Down and Antrim they intermarried but little with the native Celtic population, because the latter were nearly all Roman Catholics, but there was in those days a less pronounced antagonism between the Scoto-Irish Presbyterian and the Roman Catholic than has grown up in later days, though even now that antagonism is not so sharp as most people

outside Ireland suppose. In the days I speak of, the Presbyterians had not forgotten the league of the United Irishmen and the insurrection of 1798, in which many of their strongest men took part, having been drawn to common action with the Roman Catholics by the misgovernment from which they both suffered. Some of the Presbyterian Liberals of that generation used to say that if the Roman Catholic insurgents of southern Ireland had been as well organized and had fought as well as the Protestant insurgents of the north, the insurrection might have had a fair chance of success.

Otherwise the people of Antrim and Down had little or nothing to do with Dublin, the capital of Ireland, or indeed with any part of Ireland south of Carlingford Lough. They considered themselves to be Scotch, and all their social and commercial relations were with Scotland. Their trading was done with Glasgow or other ports of the west of Scotland. Their sons who were to be prepared for the ministry or any other learned profession were sent to Glasgow University. In fact, they were then a little colony of Scotch people planted in the Counties of Down and Antrim and in parts of Derry and Tyrone. I knew, sixty years ago, old Presbyterian elders in County Down who were as purely Scotch as if they had lived in Kirkintilloch or Kilwinning, but such men would hardly be found there to-day.

That, however, is compatible with our recognizing that among those who migrated to America in the

eighteenth century, a good many purely Celtic names may be found, and that in many a Celtic quality was present. A certain number of the Scots who migrated to Ulster intermarried with the Celtic Irish in Derry and Tyrone, and a certain number of aboriginal Irish became Protestants and as such joined the Scoto-Irish Presbyterian body. There was, moreover, in those who went from Scotland to Ulster and came from Ulster hither a good deal of Gaelic blood. The West Highlands sent Campbells and Macfarlanes and Macmillans and Colquhouns, and there were plenty of Macs from Galloway. That corner of Scotland was the original home of most of those Macs who were at one time so numerous in Pennsylvania that some one complained of the "Macocracy" that was in control there. However, whether it is Celtic blood, or whether the spirit of the land itself breathes something new into them, certain it is that the Scotch-Irish as you find them in Ulster now are quite different from the Scotch. Nobody who knows the Scotch people well could to-day mistake, when he goes into Ulster, its people for Scotsmen, and when you meet an Ulsterman in England or Scotland, you at once recognize him not only by his accent, though that is even more different from the brogue of southern Ireland than it is from Lowland Scotch, but also by something distinctive in his way of thinking and acting. Even a man's face and manner will often indicate that he is not the same sort of person as a man from the Scottish lowlands.

As you claim that the Scotch-Irish have given many men of high distinction and usefulness to this country, so they have given many men of great fame and honour and service to the United Kingdom. It will suffice to mention five who belonged to the last generation. One of them was the late Lord Chief Justice of England, who was, when at the bar, one of the most powerful advocates of our time, a strong, if not a very learned judge, — Sir Charles Russell, afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen, whose name is no doubt known to many of you who follow the profession of the law. He was an Irish Roman Catholic. The other four were Irish Protestants. One of them was Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the most gallant of our soldiers and the heroic defender of Lucknow in the terrible Indian mutiny of 1857. There were three others even more famous. One was Lord Lawrence, brother of Sir Henry, who was, with the possible exception of the Scottish Lord Dalhousie, the ablest of all our Indian administrators and viceroys for the last eighty or one hundred years. The second was Lord Cairns, one of the most finished masters of legal science in England the nineteenth century saw, a most powerful parliamentary speaker, a great advocate and a still greater judge. The third was the grandson of a Presbyterian farmer near the village of Ballynahinch, in County Down, whose son had become professor of mathematics in Glasgow. This was William Thomson, afterwards known as Lord Kelvin, and one of the first scientific men of the

century. The last time I ever sat by him at dinner he told me that his father had, when a boy, been forced by the insurgents of 1798 to carry food to them just before the battle of Ballynahinch. There were no three men who stood higher, or who deserved to stand higher, in the sight of England and Scotland during the second half of the nineteenth century than Lord Lawrence, Lord Cairns, and Lord Kelvin. Those three men came from the counties of Derry, Antrim, and Down. So you see that in England and Scotland also your people can claim to have done great things. Your forefathers, when they left Ulster, did not take away all the strength and vigour of the old stock, which continues to show its quality there just as it has done here.

You look back, as I have said, to two countries as the sources of that mixed race from which you sprang. How different has been the fortune of those two countries! Scotland had her troubled times, and she passed out of them, and since the union with England, with the short and unimportant exceptions of the Jacobite rebellions in 1715 and 1745, Scotland has enjoyed peace and an ever growing prosperity, and although at one time the Scotch excited a little criticism and even distaste in England, as you may remember from the growlings and girdings at them of that fine old typical Englishman, Dr. Samuel Johnson, still the Scotch have made good their footing in England. They have succeeded in getting a fair chance at anything there is to win or enjoy. It is no disadvantage to any Scotchman

who comes to England if he desires to rise to any English office or emolument. Four out of the last five prime ministers of England were Scotchmen. The present Archbishop of York and the present Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, are both Scotchmen. So you may see that the Scotchman has a free field open to him in England. Scotland has been, in her union with England, a happy and prosperous country. I wish I could say the same for Ireland. Ireland, too, has given many great and famous men to England besides those Ulstermen whose names I mentioned to you just now. There have been no orators more illustrious, few indeed so illustrious, in the long line of English oratory and statesmanship, as four Irishmen who flourished at the end of the eighteenth century, Curran, Plunkett, Grattan, and, above all, Edmund Burke, perhaps the only person in modern times who was not only a great statesman and orator but also one of the greatest prose writers of his day. Any country that produced four men like Curran, Plunkett, Grattan, and Burke, and produced them all practically in the same generation, has rendered a service to England and to the glory of the English tongue which Englishmen and Americans ought never to forget. I might speak also of many famous lights of literature, such as Swift, Sheridan, and Goldsmith, to whom the Island of the Saints has given birth; but everyone admits what Ireland has achieved in those directions. No more against Irishmen than against Scotsmen is there now any prejudice in England.

England is too great to be ungenerous; she can afford to give credit to all the smaller sister nationalities for all the contributions they have made to the common greatness of the nation.

And yet there are many painful pages in the history of the relations of Ireland and England. I am glad, therefore, to tell you, as I am sure that your sympathy continues to extend itself to Ireland, and that your hearts beat for Ireland as one of the two countries to which your ancestors belonged, that I believe a better day has dawned for that island, and especially for the relations between her and England. Within the last thirty years there has come about an understanding and a sympathy between the great mass and body of the British people and the Irish people such as never existed before. Few people on this side the Atlantic realize how much the British parliament has done of late years to ameliorate by better legislation and by liberal grants of money what was once the lamentable condition of the Irish peasantry. No one who knew Ireland fifty years ago can travel through it now without being struck by the enormous improvements effected. Dwellings have been erected for the labourers all over the country. The people are better fed and better clothed. They have money in the savings banks, and their children are at school. At this moment nearly half the land of Ireland has passed, and within the next twenty years I believe practically the whole of the land of Ireland will have passed, into the hands of the small farmers of Ireland

who are cultivating it, and therewith that land hunger and those land disputes which have been the most fruitful source of trouble and discontent in Ireland will have been assuaged and set at rest.

The British people are now genuinely anxious and wishful to do all they can for the Irish people, and I believe the Irish people have come to understand it. In Ireland there is no longer that bitterness towards the English which once existed, and it surprises me to find how little some Irishmen and sons of Irishmen here in the United States understand the change for the better that has come to pass. It is true that those who cherish the old rancour are now comparatively few, but it is a pity that there should be any who retain sentiments for which there was ground fifty years ago, but for which there is none to-day. In Ireland itself, as well as in England, there is assuredly a far better and more kindly feeling than ever there was before, and we confidently look forward to the time when, just as the memory of ancient wars no longer impairs the friendship of Englishmen and Scotchmen, so the dissensions that in the past have divided Ireland and England and produced recurrent strife in Ireland herself will have been forgotten, and both will be contented and friendly members of one and the same great Empire. Is it not a great blessing for any country when it can feel itself to be truly united, one in fact as well as in name? Happy and strong is that country which can remember the struggles and conflicts of the past only as a record

of deeds of valour and self-sacrifice, and can bring all its children together to unite in honouring the heroes of the past, to whichever side or party they belonged. That happened long ago as between Scotland and England; nations that strove fiercely against one another for three hundred years. That has been your good fortune here in the United States. I was profoundly struck by this last week, when I went to Springfield to honour the memory of Abraham Lincoln on the centenary of his birth. It was impressive to see how, not only there in his own State of Illinois, and in the city where he had made his home, but everywhere over the country, there went up, from the banks of the Delaware here in Philadelphia to the banks of the Columbia in Oregon, one voice of admiration for that noble character, and one offering of thankfulness to the Providence that had bestowed him on you. But what gave the greatest pleasure of all to those who wish well to your country was to perceive that no discordant note came from the South, and that in many parts of the South, and from many eminent spokesmen of the South, there was reëchoed praise and honour to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. So may it ever be in this country, and so may it be in my country, too, that England, Ireland, and Scotland shall be able to honour not only our common heroes, but the heroes of each particular nation also, and that those who hereafter win the fame of heroes may win it in the service of our common country.

WHAT A UNIVERSITY MAY DO FOR A STATE

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA IN THE GREEK THEATRE ON CHARTER DAY, MARCH 23, 1909.

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EACH time I come to California — and this is the third time — I am struck more and more by the fact that California is not only one of the greatest States of the Union, but is also, unlike any other state of the Union, a Country as well as a State. One reaches California either over the vast and silent ocean, or else across two lofty mountain ranges and through a wilderness, much of which is likely to remain forever unpeopled, a scorched and arid wilderness, almost as silent as the sea. One feels that one is entering a new land. There is a new dry gleam and a new clear brilliance in the sunlight; there are new wild flowers and new trees. Everything is unlike the Mississippi Valley, or the gently undulating plains that rise from it to the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. California, moreover, great as is the diversity of hill and valley within it, is all one country, not cut up by nature into different regions, but one in its structure and general character. Guarded on the east by a snowy range, it has its natural centre at this magnificent bay, where we are standing, and where noble mountains

look down upon waters blue as those that wash the shores of Sicily. The bay of San Francisco always reminds me of

> — the sea that parts
> Trinacria from the hoarse Calabrian shore.

All this great region between the Sierras and the Pacific was meant to be the home of one people under one government.

Nature might, indeed, seem to have intended that it should be not a part of the United States but a separate country under a separate independent government; and a separate independent country it would no doubt have been but for two causes. One is to be found in those peculiar political and social economic conditions which brought on the war with Mexico and led to the annexation of all this region by the United States. The other is the fact that not long before that war the steam-engine, invented some seventy years before by James Watt, had begun to be applied to transportation by water and land. Although some of the early emigrants crossed the great plains and threaded their painful way through the cañons of the Rocky Mountains and over the high Sierras in wagons, it was steamships and railways that made California, which Spain, and after her the Mexicans, had left undeveloped, really a part of the United States and attached her indissolubly to the great Republic. But for the two causes I have mentioned, one may well believe that those who in the fulness of time settled in Cali-

fornia would, whether they came from Europe or from the United States, have set up here an independent government. Closer and closer as your relations have now become with the Mississippi and Atlantic states, through the extension and improvements of railway communication, — closer still as they may perhaps become when the Panama Canal has been completed, — California still wears in many points the aspect of a distinct country; and this is one of the things which makes her so exceptionally interesting to the traveller, and not less to the historian, who endeavors to study not only the history of the past, but through the past the probable history of the future.

On returning here after twenty-six years I am struck by the enormous strides with which the material development of the State has advanced. Some of its cities are growing almost as fast as New York and Chicago. Many parts of the country, which in 1883 were scarcely inhabited, have now become rich agricultural districts. The whole country is moving forward at a steady pace, which makes the continuance of your material wealth well assured; and even when the mines of precious metals have ceased to be so important a factor as they were in early days, your agricultural resources will continue to promise a stable prosperity. Great advances have been made in irrigation, and vast tracts have thus been made possible for cultivation. If you will take thought in time for the saving of your forests, and will replant the areas where forests

have existed and which are not needed for agriculture, you will be able to conserve not only an important source of wealth in the timber, but also the undiminished flow of your streams. With your grain, your fruit, your cattle, and your sheep, you may confidently rely on the maintenance of the chief sources of natural wealth; and if you desire overflowing riches and a teeming population, you can, humanly speaking, be sure of having both in as large a measure as you wish. The process of development will go on till all has been got out of nature that nature can render. Then at last will come a day when all the gold and silver will have been won from placers and reefs, and all the soil capable of tillage will be under crops or laid out in gardens or orchards; when railways and electric lines will have been constructed sufficient to meet the needs of the population, and when that population itself will have grown to figures which I hardly venture to conjecture.

When all this has happened, what next? There is a story of an Eastern monarch who, in the midst of his career of conquest, was recounting to one of his most trusted councillors what he had done, and announcing what further expeditions he proposed to make. He described country after country and nation after nation which it was his purpose to overrun and subjugate, and, as each was mentioned, his councillor asked him, "And after that, what?" — until at last he had enumerated so many that little was left of the

then known world over which his armies would not have been triumphant. But the councillor at the end of the list still repeated, "And then, what next?" and the conqueror at last could only say, "Well I suppose we shall then sit down and enjoy ourselves and live happily for the rest of our lives," — to which the councillor answered: "If happiness is the goal, why not begin to be happy now? You have already got more than any one has ever conquered before. When your plans of conquests are completed you will be weary and old. Let us take our enjoyment now?"

Some question like this arises in one's mind when one contemplates the victories over nature which men are winning here in the United States. You, indeed, will not be old nor weary when those victories are completed, for the generations that follow may well be as forceful as your own. But the time must arrive when the American people will have practically finished with the work of conquering, and when, having got out of nature all that nature can yield, and applied the resources of science to industry and to commerce on a scale so large and with such refined efficiency that there will be little more motive for the accumulation of wealth, they will have to ask themselves what remains to be done, and how best they can enjoy all that they have accumulated. So let this question be put: What will happen when California is filled by twenty or thirty millions of people, and its valuation is ten times what it is now, and the wealth

will have grown so great that it will be hard to know how to spend it? The day will, after all, have then, as now, only twenty-four hours. Each man will have only one mouth, one pair of ears, and one pair of eyes. There will be more people, as many perhaps as the country can support, and the real question will be not about amassing more wealth or having more inhabitants, but whether the inhabitants will then be happier or better than they have been hitherto or are at this moment. Although that time may be still distant, you may already begin to ask yourselves what the development of natural resources and the acquisition of wealth is doing for the lives of the people. You have advanced so much farther along the path of material comfort than your grandfathers dreamed of, that it is not too soon to think of enjoyment; and, even if you do not slacken in your pace, you may well reflect upon the ultimate aims for which you are working.

How can the University help you to think out those aims and to choose the best means for reaching them? Few of us reflect upon the ultimate purposes even of our own individual lives, still fewer on the ideals towards which national and State life should move.

What you all wish, what you, and all everywhere who think of others as well as of themselves, set up as an aim, is to secure for the people as a whole — the poorer as well as the richer — the conditions and surroundings that make for Happiness. The difficulty is

to determine which are the conditions that will be helpful and towards which you will work. Let us think for a moment of these as they affect rural life and city life in your State.

One is told that in California as well as everywhere else the tendency is for the dwellers in the country to flock into the cities. Yet in California the conditions for an enjoyable rural life are especially favorable. The scenery is beautiful and the climate genial as well as invigorating. Except in the high mountains you have no such grim winter as that of the North Atlantic states. Nobody who has enjoyed this climate wishes to go back either to Europe or to eastern America. In many parts of your State the yield of the soil is so large that the cultivators dwell near together, living under good conditions and in populous communities. Here, therefore, if anywhere, country life ought to be attractive. Yet even here, one is told, the dislike for what is deemed the comparative solitude and isolation of rural life, together with the restless passion for amusement, produce a steady drain away from the land into the city. In California two great cities, San Francisco (including Oakland and Berkeley, which for this purpose may be deemed parts of it) and Los Angeles, have two-fifths of the whole population of the State and are growing more rapidly than the State grows.

This is unfortunate. It is far better for the health and physical stamina of a people that the bulk of them

should live in the country and work there with plenty of fresh air around them. It is better for the national mind and character that men should be in contact with nature than that they should live cooped up in streets. You remember the old line, "God made the country and man made the Town." It is better for the political stability of a government that the town dwellers should not outnumber the country dwellers, and that there should not be many vast aggregations of men living packed tightly together and more liable to be moved by sudden excitement than country folk are.

A large number of small farmers, each cultivating his own land, constitute an element which gives solidity and strength to a State. Such men are less eager and volatile and hasty than the dwellers in cities; they have a permanent interest in good order and the regular working of public administration. I will not venture to assert, as some have done, that the preponderance of large cities is necessarily dangerous; yet it is undesirable, both politically and because it affects the physical health and vigor of the nation.

How are you to check this growth of cities at the expense of the rural areas? One means is the improvement of rural schools, and especially of agricultural education, so as to teach the cultivator how to apply science to his calling, and to find pleasure in applying it. This, I know, your University has been doing, and doing so earnestly as to endear itself more and more to the people of the State. To make the

country children interested in the nature that lies around them is to furnish them with a source of enjoyment for the whole of their lives. Another means is the introduction of coöperative methods among cultivators, — methods by which immense progress has been made in Denmark and other regions far less favoured than this. The extension of electric railways and of a cheap telephone service contributes to reduce that loneliness of which many country dwellers complain, while those of us who are tired of the crowds and noise of cities long for rural quiet. My chief concern, however, is to indicate the importance of the object in view, and to observe that California has some advantages enabling it to set an example. The irrigated districts of your State constitute a region exceptionally fitted to give country life all the attractions that should induce men to prefer it to crowded cities. The farms are small, averaging, I believe, not more than twenty acres. Families live near enough to one another to enjoy the pleasures of social life. It is easier for people to organize for the purposes of agricultural coöperation or for social ends.

When we turn to city life and its conditions we are met by still larger questions. On the political side of the matter let this one word only be said: that sound political conditions in cities are the first and essential condition of municipal progress. There is a great deal of work needing to be done in Americans cities which the municipal government ought to do, because

no other agency can do it so efficiently and so completely. Yet in many cities much of this work is withheld from municipal officers and councils because officers and councils are not trusted by the people. Once a city has succeeded in placing honest men and capable men in control, how much there is which the government may accomplish for the people, — how much for their health, for the proper supply of light and water and means of locomotion, for the laying out of handsome streets and their adornment by public buildings, for the provision of parks and playgrounds and museums and libraries and art galleries and perhaps concert halls also, where the finest kinds of music may be given to the people and their taste for such music formed! A great city ought in all these matters to be not only the guardian of the material well-being of her children, but also their guide and instructress, — elevating their tastes, displaying to them visible shapes of beauty, helping them to knowledge and enjoyment, making them feel their common interest in intellectual and moral progress. A finely ordered city might be, as European cities have before now been, as Athens was in the ancient world and Florence was in the Middle Ages, a source of inspiration to those who dwell therein; and a common pride in it may be a bond to unite all classes. Some few cities have already set an example in this direction; and some rich men, who are enlightened as well as rich, have turned their wealth to the best account

in providing beneficent sources of enjoyment for their less favoured fellow-citizens.

You may ask why I speak of these things here to you in this University. Because it is one of the chief functions of a great university, a duty and a function which no other organized body in the State is so well fitted to discharge, to think about these things and to impress their value upon the minds of the people. You are celebrating to-day the anniversary of the foundation by the State of this central seat of education and learning and research, the mission of which is to represent and embody the organized force and will of this Californian community in promoting all that makes for intellectual advancement and moral elevation. Universities are lamps which cast forth their light on everything around them. Besides their direct and primary duty to train and inform the minds of the youth of the State, supplying the knowledge and skill needed for the work of life, it is for them to collect and focus whatever science and learning can provide for any form of State service. Not only ought they to distribute information on scientific phenomena and processes applicable to agriculture and other industries, as some State universities have done with eminent success, they ought also to place their knowledge of economic history and of the economic conditions of other countries, and of the experiments, whether made in those countries by legislative or by voluntary action, at the disposal of the administrative officials

and the legislature of their State. When any investigation is needed, either of a scientific or historical or economic kind, they can furnish from among their teaching staff trained investigators whose wide range of knowledge and mastery of method will make them valuable colleagues of the practical men who also may be charged with the conduct of such enquiries. In short, the universities of a State — and this applies also to your great sister university (the Leland Stanford) at Palo Alto and the other Californian seats of learning — should act as its organs for all such of its efforts as need a broader sweep of view and a more perfect mastery of exact and philosophical methods than the ablest man, taken from the walks of daily business or professional life, can be expected to possess.

One danger that has recently begun to threaten university life seems not yet to have attacked the State universities of the West. I learn with pleasure that you have here kept within reasonable limits that passion for athletic sports and competitions which has been pushed to excess in England and Australia, and which in some American universities goes so far that the only kind of distinction that students value is that which attaches to proficiency in these competitions. Intellectual excellence — so one is told — is in these "seats of learning" but little regarded. It is the athlete, the runner or baseball or football player, who is the hero. The competitions and contests of football

or baseball teams excite such interest that not only do many thousands gather to see the match, but a vast deal of time is spent on reading about the performances and the prospects of the teams. Thus the minds of the students are occupied by these trivial matters to the exclusion of interest in things that are really fitted to engage and delight intelligent minds. This is a strange inversion of what might be expected in a high civilization, and a strange perversion of the true spirit of university life. It is not an encouraging symptom. It reminds one of that inordinate passion for the sports of the amphitheatre, and, especially for chariot racing, which grew more and more intense with the decadence of art and literature and national spirit in the Roman Empire. What does civilization mean, except that we realize more and more the superiority of the mind to the body?

The muscular powers should by all means be kept in perfect efficiency; and the pleasures of strenuous bodily exercise are legitimate and valuable. Having delighted in one of them all my life I am not likely to disparage them. No one who knows how much the sound body does for the sound mind will deprecate the playing of games by students, and that by all of the students, and not merely by an exceptionally strong or skilful few. Of such play in hours of recreation there is nothing but good to be said: what one regrets is the encroachment of this passionate interest in competitions upon the higher interests and

enjoyments of academic life. After all, the mind is better worth cultivating than the body. It is by the mind that civilization advances and peoples are great. And what is the purpose of a university except to enable the youth of a nation to cultivate those mental faculties which they have to exert and develop through the rest of their lives, when the few years fit for violent physical effort have passed?

I have spoken of the teachers and the students: let me say a word also as to the graduates. The universities may, through their alumni, exercise a powerful influence in forming the public opinion of their State. In most parts of America the tie between the university and its graduates is a close one, closer perhaps than anywhere in Europe. They are interested in its welfare, and ready to come forward to support it when it has something to ask from the legislature and ready also to raise funds themselves for any purpose calculated to extend its usefulness. They listen with respect to views proceeding from its President and its leading teachers. They form associations of their own in the principal cities, and through these often do much to raise the intellectual and civic tone of the community. They are usually to the front in all movements for administrative reform.

One class of graduates in particular has a very important part to play. I mean the teachers, particularly those in the high schools. The intellectual interest, the public spirit, the literary tastes and moral

tone of each generation as it comes to manhood very largely depend on the quality of the instruction and mental stimulus received in the upper schools; and this will become all the more true of California as the influx of settlers from abroad diminishes, and the bulk of the population is home-born. Now, the quality of the teachers and their capacity for inspiring fine ideals in youthful minds, depends upon the spirit which their university breathes into them, and on the high conception it gives them of what intellectual energy and intellectual enjoyment really mean. The universities are the natural centres and culminating points of the educational system of a State, and their influence ought to make itself felt all through that system.

Lastly, a university, being the visible evidence and symbol of the homage which the State pays to learning and science, has the function of reminding the people by its constant activity how much there is in life beyond material development and business success. Philosophy, history, literature, art, scientific discovery, the prosecution of all those studies and enquiries the value of which cannot be measured by dollars and cents, these things not only provide unfailing sources of enjoyment, but are ultimately the foundation of national prosperity and strength. We are all only too apt to think solely about the Present. The average man, be he educated or uneducated, is in our day so busy that he seldom thinks of anything

else. But the university is a place where those who are entering on life learn to think also of the Past and of the Future, — where they are taught to rival the great men who have gone before and to meditate how they can carry on what such men began for the benefit of those who will come after. True it is that all we know of the Future is that it will never be what the Past was. As the Athenian poet says — this beautiful Greek theatre of yours brings the lines to my mind —

Ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος
φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται.[1]

The law of change is universal. Yet it is mainly through understanding the past that we can conjecture what the future will be, can work for it, and can secure, so far as we may, that to our State and Nation it shall come fraught with blessing.

When I think of the future, my mind turns back to California, and to all that your noble State may become. You have made it a State, but nature made it a Country. It is still in its first youth, with wonderful possibilities before it, — a country with an infinite variety of beautiful mountain, valley, and sea-coast scenery. One cannot but feel that it is destined, more perhaps than any other part of the United States, to develop a new and distinctive type of art, perhaps

[1] Long and unreckoned time brings to life all things out of the unseen and hides them away again when they have been seen. — From the *Ajax* of Sophocles.

of landscape painting, perhaps of literature. Your people have already an individuality. They are Californians; they have something all their own, — an aspect, a manner of speech, a softness — so one is told — in the voice. May we not hope to see this individuality blossom forth into products that are distinctive in thought and in poetry? Your scenery, your social conditions in their earlier stage, inspired two of the most striking pieces of literature that America has given to the world in the last half century. More will doubtless come when a larger part of your people find leisure from those restless efforts to develop the material resources of the land which have hitherto occupied you. Through the centuries to come, in which from the peak that stands up behind this spot generation after generation of students will see the sun mount from behind the mighty Sierras to the East and sink into the waves of the Pacific in the West, may this University, enriched by the liberality and guided by the judicious care of your legislature, ever play a worthy part in the building up of a Californian character and in the expansion of a Californian community that shall make the Golden State the home of a happy and enlightened people.

ALLEGIANCE TO HUMANITY

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON PEACE AND ARBITRATION, MAY 21, 1909.

ALLEGIANCE TO HUMANITY

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ABOUT the blessings of peace, about the horrors of war, about the value of arbitration as a means of preventing war, surely everything that can be said has been said. You who meet here to promote arbitration and peace have no enemy in the field, or at least none within the range of your artillery. There are still persons who hanker after war, and therefore dislike arbitration, but I notice that they are now mostly reduced to one argument, viz., that war is the mother of courage, self-sacrifice, and other virtues. No doubt these virtues may be displayed and have often been displayed in warfare, as in many another department of life. So courage and constancy have been displayed in a still nobler form by martyrs who have died for their faith. But we do not desire religious persecution for the sake of having martyrs. Courage and loyalty are being daily displayed in many another way: and opportunities for displaying these and other virtues would remain if war were to vanish

[1] In revising this address for publication some additions have been made to render the line of argument more clear.

as religious persecution has vanished. We need not, however, attempt to argue with the people that delight in war, because they are not here to-night to be convinced. Those who dwell on the benefits of war do not come to listen to us, their blessings give us no chance of convincing them. The Hawks take no interest in this congress of doves. Accordingly, whoever addresses such a gathering as this finds himself in the position of preaching to the converted. It is an easy process; but it is not stimulating to the speaker and is apt to prove dull to the converted, being also wholly unprofitable to the unconverted who keep out of the range of fire. If the latter were here, we should make one admission. There have been some justifiable wars. Where a so-called government plunders and massacres its subjects, insurrection against it may be a duty, and it may be right for other nations to put an end by arms to oppressions that are as bad as war itself. Such cases have happened in Europe and may happen again. But what other wars in our time can be deemed to have been necessary?

Our discussions at all these peace conferences are really discussions in the abstract, and we shall not know whether the cause is making real progress until the time comes for translating abstract resolutions into concrete practice. No doubt some progress has been made. The work accomplished at the Hague has been valuable. The creation of the Hague Court

and the reference to it of such controversies as that which the United States had recently with Mexico and that between the United States and Great Britain relating to the Newfoundland Fisheries mark a real advance.

Nevertheless, it is felt that the risks of war have not disappeared, and the strongest proof of this appears in the fact that all the great countries continue to go on increasing their military and naval armaments. You have heard a good deal already here about armaments. Let me add a few plain words about them, words suggested by what I have seen of the relations of the European States for the last fifty years. There are three causes which have induced or may induce nations to maintain large armies and powerful fleets. One is the desire to aggress on another nation. As to this, be well assured that none of the six great European Powers has at present any desire or purpose to attack any of the other five. Apart from any higher motives, each has its internal troubles, each knows the tremendous risks any attack would involve. Such wars of conquest as belonged to the days of Frederick the Great of Prussia and to those of Napoleon Bonaparte are out of date. A second motive is the wish to have that weight in the councils of nations which the possession of military and naval force undoubtedly gives in such a world as the present. It is not necessarily a motive making for war; all depends on the spirit and intentions of the nation, or its rulers, who desire to

assert their influence. A third is the feeling that a State must be prepared to resist aggression, or that extreme form of aggression, invasion, by having the strength needed to defend its frontiers.

As you all know, it is these two latter motives that have led the six great European Powers to maintain some of them large fleets and all but one of them large armies. Each is apprehensive of the possible designs of the other. Most of them would like to reduce their armaments, but none of them likes to be the first to do so. In such circumstances suggestions looking towards reduction would come best from a great nation which is not threatened with aggression or invasion from any quarter. There is only one such nation. It is the United States. You here have no enemy in the world, that is to say, there is no other great Power which has any ground for enmity to you, and there is most assuredly none which has anything to gain by attacking you. If you remark that Great Britain maintains a large navy, let me ask you to remember that she is obliged to maintain such a navy because, having an army small in comparison with the armies of other European States and being within sight of the European Continent, she feels that fleets sufficient to guard her coast are an absolute necessity, a costly necessity indeed, but one to which she must bow. How different is your case! Against whose attacks is it that you stand on guard? No one dreams of invading the United States. You are three

thousand miles from Europe and six thousand miles from Asia, and the offensive power of a hostile fleet diminishes rapidly with every thousand miles from its base. Your internal resources, your wealth, your population, the intelligence and energy of your people, added to the advantages of your position, would make you strong for defensive war even if your fleet was much less than its present size. If you ever again engage in war, it is likely to be a war of your own seeking, for nobody will aggress upon you. Is it not, therefore, now, I will not say a duty, but an opportunity specially offered to you, to render a service to the world by taking the initiative toward the reduction of those armies and navies which consume so large a part of the revenues of nations and increase the apprehensions with which they watch one another? As you yourselves would say, in one of those concisely expressive phrases which you teach your visitors to use, is it not "up to you" to do this?

The existence of immense land and sea forces, kept upon what is practically a war footing, increases the risk of strife, for it diminishes the period that would otherwise elapse before fighting could begin. It keeps the minds of nations, and especially of the two great fighting professions in each nation, fixed upon possibilities of war, and brings those possibilities nearer.

> How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds
> Makes ill deeds done.

There is no certainty that if some dispute suddenly arose inflaming the passions of two nations they would refer it to arbitration. The recent arbitration treaties which your government has concluded with other nations expressly — and, I venture to think, unfortunately — exclude from their scope certain kinds of dispute, those which affect "honour and vital interests." The making of this exception shows that governments have not that full confidence in the application of the principle which many of you may desire. Even where the case is one that does fall within the terms of an arbitration treaty, we cannot be sure that two nations, each perhaps irritated and excited, may not prefer to resort to arms rather than use the machinery for securing peace which they have themselves in their more tranquil moments provided. All the virtuous sentiments, all the good resolutions, may be forgotten when anger and suspicion suspend the reign of reason. There is no present sign that this will happen in our time, nor does there now exist any ground of difference between any two nations which could justify hostilities. All the nations both of this hemisphere and of the other have every possible reason for endeavoring to keep the peace. Interest — to say nothing of conscience and duty — prescribes that course. Nevertheless, when we remember how often in the past governments and nations that had every interest to keep the peace allowed themselves to be drawn into war, and how disproportionate the

alleged causes of strife were to the real interests involved, we cannot be sure that the same thing may not occur again, and we must ask once more, Why is it that good resolutions are so often forgotten? Why is the practice of nations so much worse than the theory which not only you here, but the leading statesmen in nearly every nation, profess to hold?

One of the answers most often given is that the ill-feeling between nations which leads them up to war is due to the press. When a dispute arises between two peoples, the newspapers — so it is charged — begin in each country to misrepresent the purposes and the sentiments of the other people, to suppress the case for the other country, and to overstate the case for their own, they twist or embellish facts, and go on so appealing to national vanity and inflaming national passion, that at last they lead each people to believe itself wholly in the right and the other wholly in the wrong. To what extent these charges are justified, your recollections of how the press, European and American, has behaved before the outbreak of the various wars in which great nations have been involved in and since 1870 will enable you to judge. As respects the American newspapers, my experience of the last few years is that a large majority of them are in favour of peace and arbitration and not at all unfriendly to foreign countries. That has emphatically been so as regards their attitude towards my own country.

However, I am not here either to censure or to defend the newspapers. They can take care of themselves. But in the interests of truth and justice it must be asked whether it is really the press that is chiefly to blame. Public writers do not write to please themselves, but to please and interest their readers. If foreign countries are attacked, it is because they think the public expect and relish such attacks. Men are apparently so constituted as to listen more readily to blame than to praise bestowed on their fellow-men, and there is in many minds a notion that it is patriotic to disparage other nations, and that the display of their faults enhances our own virtues. Thus in each country the newspapers try to meet and gratify what they take to be the wishes of the people, playing down to their faults rather than playing up to their virtues.

Every country has the newspapers it deserves for the papers are what the people make them, and reflect back the sentiments they believe the people to hold. So if the people wish that the organs of opinion should show a truly pacific spirit, friendly to other nations, anxious to know whenever an international dispute arises, what the case of the other nation is, they will intimate their wish by ceasing to buy, or by withdrawing their advertising from, the newspapers which try to provoke strife. Thereupon most of the newspapers will, in their desire to please their public, change their own attitude, will abstain from reckless or inflammatory language, and will supply to

their readers such facts and opinions as will not kindle passion and will at any rate not tend to hinder peace.

Thus we come back, as in democratic countries we always do come back, to the People; that is, to ourselves, the ordinary citizens who are the ultimate masters both of the government and of the press. Why do we, the ordinary citizens, practically encourage the newspapers to do the very things which you, the friends of peace, blame the newspapers for doing? Why do we like to have other nations placed in the worst light and their defects exaggerated? Why is it thought patriotic to decry and assail other nations, and unpatriotic to indicate any faults in our own conduct, any weak points in our own case? Why does each people behave as if it alone were virtuous and deserved the special favor of Providence, even as in past centuries each nation used to celebrate a Te Deum for a victory its army had won, as if the Almighty were its peculiar friend? It knows that every other people also thinks highly of itself and meanly of others, and that each has about as much ground and no more for so thinking. Yet it continues to glorify itself, and enjoys hearing the other nation denounced and vilified, just as the Iroquois and Algonquins who once roved these woods in the midst of which we are here meeting, used to hurl opprobrious epithets at one another before they rushed forward with the tomahawk.

At this moment all the governments in all the great

military and naval States are (I venture to believe) honestly desirous of peace. Not one of them has any cause for war. Not one of them but would lose by war far more than it could gain. It is a fatal error, an error which has come down from the days when barbarous tribes raided for plunder, and which ought to be now obsolete, to believe that nations gain something by a successful war. Even when they levy an indemnity upon a vanquished enemy, the conquerors themselves lose in commerce and industry, and often also in the weakened sense of security, far more than the indemnity is worth. Civilized governments now know this and wish to avoid war. Yet it is apparently possible for those who desire, from whatever motives, to stir up suspicion and enmity to succeed in convincing each nation that the other has designs upon it. Quite recently this was tried upon yourselves. Much suspicion, much alarm was aroused, without the slightest justification, between you and another Power, though both your government and its government were perfectly friendly, each desiring to behave well by the other. Any man of sense could see that Japan had no possible interest in provoking a conflict with the United States. Her greatest interest was peace, a peace which would leave her free to deal with the numerous grave problems that confront her, in Korea, in Formosa, and elsewhere, as well as to press forward her internal development. She knew that, and we all knew that she

knew it. Yet this insensate attempt to represent Japan as ready to spring upon the United States went on. Why will not people do a little thinking before they embark in such a campaign of exasperation?

Every nation is conscious of its own rectitude of purpose; each declares, and says that it believes, that its armaments are maintained for its own safety and will not be used unjustly or aggressively. But each one is told that it must not credit with similar good intentions the other nation which is for the moment the object of its jealousy. The ordinary man is apparently more prone to believe evil than good; and hardly anybody takes up the cause of the other nation and tries to make its case understood. That would be called unpatriotic.

Is not the fault then not so much in the press which ministers to our foibles, as in ourselves, that we are too ignorant, perhaps wilfully ignorant, about other nations, that we do not try to understand them and to imagine what we should feel in their place? Is not this one chief cause of the atmosphere of suspicion which pervades the relations of the Great Powers, and leads them to go on creating the enormous armaments and levying the enormous taxes under which their people stagger? Would not a better knowledge by each nation of the other nations do something to dispel these suspicions? Every nation must of course be prepared to repel any dangers at all likely to threaten it. But it should also try to ascertain whether the dangers

it is told to provide against are real or illusory, and it should try to enter into and realize the position of other nations and ask whether its own conduct may not be exciting in their minds a mistaken impression of its purposes. Suspicion breeds suspicion; and nations have sometimes come to fear and dislike one another only because each was incessantly told that it was disliked by the other, and that the other was planning to attack it.

Thirty or forty years ago there was a good deal of this suspicion between Britain and the United States. Better knowledge by each nation of the other has extinguished that feeling and substituted for it a genuine friendship which will, we may feel sure, at once recur to arbitration for the settlement of any question between them that may arise. Why should this not be done as regards other Powers also? Why when a controversy arises with any other country should we not, before sharpening our tempers and our swords, try to recognize that there are two sides to the controversy and keep cool till we have considered the other side and made the other nation feel that we wish and mean to be reasonable?

Our country is not the only thing to which we owe our allegiance. It is owed also to justice and to humanity, owed to our fellow-men in other countries as well as in our own. Doubtless we are called upon to think first and feel first for those whom we know best and for whom we are most directly respon-

sible, our own fellow-citizens. But we are not therefore to forget that we have duties to the other peoples also, and those duties are doubly urgent if in any case we think that justice is as much on their side as on ours. True patriotism consists not in waving a flag, not in shouting "our country, right or wrong," but in so valuing our country and respecting its best traditions as to desire and to strive that our country shall be righteous as well as strong. A State is none the less strong for being resolved to use its strength in a temperate and pacific spirit and for putting justice and honour above all its other interests. Ought not the patriot to say to his country what the poet said to his lady:

> "I could not love thee, Dear, so much
> Loved I not honour more."

It was well observed not long ago by Mr. Root that there ought to be, and there was gradually coming to be, a public opinion of nations which favored arbitration and would condemn any government which plunged into war when amicable means of settlement were available. May we not go even farther and desire and work for the creation of a public opinion of the world which has regard to the general interests of the world, raising its view above the special interests of each people? Sixty years ago the progress of humanity was held to be marked and measured by the growth of a cosmopolitan spirit which extended its benevolence and sympathy over the earth. The

strengthening of the sentiment of nationality was then welcomed as a means of helping oppressed or divided nationalities to assert themselves and secure union. No one then supposed that national feeling would reach its present height. It is surely carried to excess when men think only of the glory and the power of their State and forget what they owe to mankind at large.

A very distinguished man, one of the keenest observers in this country, observed to me lately that he found there was to-day less of a kindly feeling towards members of the non-European races who settle here, such as Japanese, Chinese, and Hindoos, less indignation when they are ill treated, less anxiety to secure fair and just treatment for them, than used to be extended to those races forty years ago. My own observations have shown me that there has been during recent years in Europe less sympathy with those who are struggling against the tyranny or cruelty of their rulers in other countries than was extended fifty years ago to the patriots who then fought and suffered for freedom in Italy, Poland, and Hungary.

Have we then gone back in this generation? Has the sentiment of race antagonism grown stronger and the love of liberty where others are concerned grown weaker with the growth of nationalism in each country and with the absorption of our thoughts by the social problems which we are trying to solve at home? If so, it is time that we reverted to the broader and more kindly attitude of the generation of Lincoln and

Mazzini and Gladstone, when the best minds did not limit their good-will by colour, or by creed, or by country, but sought to labour for the world as well as for themselves.

All over the earth the fortunes of each people are to-day more involved with those of other peoples than was ever the case before. As the possibilities of strife are increased by closer contact, so also the opportunities for mutually helpful intercourse are also increased, and the welfare of each is more clearly than ever before the welfare of all. I do not mean to undervalue any machinery that can be provided for settling disputes and furthering the desire we all feel to attain our common aim in a practical way. But something more is needed. We need a spirit which will not merely hate war because the realities of war are hideous and hellish or because war means waste and destruction, but will love and seek peace because it desires the welfare of other peoples and finds the same sort of happiness in seeing them happy which each of us enjoys in the happiness of his own friends. Is it not the mark of a truly philosophic as well as of a truly pious mind to extend its sympathy and its hopes to all mankind? Would not the diffusion of such a feeling and an appreciation of the truth that every nation gains by the prosperity and happiness of other peoples be a force working for peace and good-will among the nations more powerfully and more steadily than the best arbitration treaties statesmanship can frame?

THE TERCENTENARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT BURLINGTON, VERMONT, JULY 8, 1909.

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MR. PRESIDENT, GOVERNORS OF VERMONT AND NEW YORK AND GENTLEMEN: —

You are met to-day to commemorate in Vermont a great event, which it is fitting that you should commemorate — the discovery three centuries ago of that noble lake which forms the western boundary of your State, and is one of its greatest charms. When we think of what this region was three hundred years ago, one can hardly believe that such great changes can have passed in so short a time. Short it is, if one compares three centuries with the long ages that it took to effect similar changes in the countries of the Old World. In 1609 the spot on which we are standing in the centre of a flourishing city was in the midst of a solemn and awe-inspiring wilderness. What daring it must have needed to explore those vast and solitary forests, — solitary because the Indian tribes, always at war with one another, had desolated them by continual strife, leaving hardly a man alive through enormous tracts; and how venturesome a spirit that have been of the men who traversing in frail canoes

long stretches of rivers and lakes, shooting dangerous rapids, following difficult trails through dense woods with no guide except the savages, on whom they could not always rely, woods filled with wild beasts and with tribes more dangerous than any beasts;—what hearts of steel the men must have had who, far away from all hope of succour, made those discoveries the fruits of which you now enjoy!

When Champlain's Indian guides first paddled his canoe over the shining waters of your lake, there was no European settlement nearer this spot than the little English colony planted two years before on the James River in Virginia, and you may be sure that Champlain did not wish that the English were any nearer, for the settlers whom he had left on Mount Desert Island fared ill at the hands of English enemies. It was in this same year 1609 that Henry Hudson first steered his Dutch ship up the waters of that Hudson River with which your lake is now connected by a canal. And if Hudson had travelled north through the woods from Albany and Champlain had travelled south through the woods from the southern end of this lake, they might have met. Let us hope they would have met in friendship, whatever were the jealousies of their respective nations, because each was worthy of the respect of the other, for in both there dwelt a valiant and unconquerable spirit.

The men who discovered and explored the continents of North and South America make a wonderful

line of heroes. If you begin with Christopher Columbus and go on to a man who was in some ways quite as great, certainly as great both in nautical skill and in courage, as Christopher Columbus himself, — the Portuguese Magellan, — and if you include in that line John and Sebastian Cabot, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific, and De Soto, who first reached the Mississippi, and Cortes and Pizarro and Pedro de Valdivia, and such great Frenchmen as Cartier and La Salle and Père Marquette and Champlain himself, you have a line of daring and gallant men to whom the history of the world forms no parallel. And among all those Samuel de Champlain, a native of the seafaring land of La Rochelle, first of the great Frenchmen who explored in the north, was not only one of the ablest but also one of the most upright. He was equally skilful and resourceful on sea and on shore. He knew not only how to discover, but also how to govern, as his management of his colony of Quebec showed. He was able to describe with wonderful accuracy the places which he visited. The French Ambassador has told you how well he narrated the events of his voyage here, and described the features of this lake; and the people of Mount Desert Island will tell you that the accounts he has left of their shores are so accurate that you may still navigate the sea along that coast by the description he gave of the bays and promontories with their fringing isles. He was ready to fight when the time came for fighting, but he had

no wish to shed blood. He inspired confidence in his followers, for he was not only brave but also gentle and considerate — much more considerate of his followers than was the not less daring La Salle. And he thought first of France and of the faith which he came to propagate, and last of himself. Samuel de Champlain was, take him all round, what we call a fine fellow. He was a man of whom his country does well to be proud, and you do well to be glad that your lake should bear his name. I like to picture him with his Indians paddling up the long stretches of the river and coming out upon a summer evening upon the glittering waters of your lake, seeing it stretch farther to the south than the eye could reach, and above, on each side of these deep waters, the long ranges of steep blue mountains, in which is framed, like some exquisite picture, the beauty of this inland sea. We are told that the name of your lake in Indian is "Caniaderi-guarunte." Now "Caniaderi-guarunte" is said to mean, in the Indian language, "the gate of the country"; *i.e.* the opening by which men can pass northward and southward through this rugged region. Everywhere else, to East and to West, the drainage basin of the St. Lawrence is divided from the basins of the Hudson and the Connecticut rivers by lofty mountains and forests which were in the days of the discoverers all but impassable. It is a natural highway for commerce; and what hopes for dominion and for trade must have thrilled the heart of Champlain when he saw this splendid sheet

of water stretching away to some unknown extremity between the lines of the mountains.

It was an age when the growth of the great Spanish Empire in the southern parts of North America and over most of South America had fired the imagination of other nations to emulate what Spain had done, so Holland and France and England all sought to create for themselves dominions similar to that which Spain had acquired so easily. So the example of Champlain, who came to found an empire here for the King of France, fired many another bold French pioneer after him, until Du Luth reached the farthest corner of Lake Superior at the spot where a great city now bears his name, and until La Salle, passing up Lake Michigan, and by the spot where now Chicago stands, crossed over to the Illinois River, and then descended, right down to its mouth, the mighty stream of the Mississippi.

Of all that has happened since those days of Samuel de Champlain, I have no time to speak. I cannot tell you of the long process by which Vermont was built up and filled with the stalwart race of the Green Mountain boys. Those sturdy men of your mountain land were in the middle of the eighteenth century what the Western backwoodsmen were eighty years later, the active and hardy men who had the qualities which, in your later days, you associate with the pioneers of the Far West. But in one respect they were perhaps better company than the men of the Far

West, for they were not so free and easy in their use of shooting-irons. Perhaps, however, that is so only because in those days the revolver had not yet been invented. Neither must I attempt to describe the protracted strife that raged along the shores of your lake between the Vermonters and the men of New York, a strife so bitter that it is said to have driven Ethan Allen, your local hero, to contemplate returning to the allegiance of King George. Those contests gave an occasion for the display of that admirable quality in which the citizens of the United States, and particularly of the northern part of the United States, stand preëminent, a strong sense of justice and individual right, and a pertinacious determination to assert individual right by every method and device known to the law. These long differences have now been happily settled, so we see the Governors of Vermont and New York meeting here in an amity not likely to be again disturbed. You have no interstate controversy now, and the only question that might have grown into an international controversy, one regarding fishing rights in the lake, has just been peacefully disposed of by a treaty which Mr. Root (who was with us yesterday) and I signed last year establishing a joint American and Canadian Commission, with power to adjust all fishery matters arising in boundary waters.

How different have been the fortunes of this lake and its shores from what its discoverers or your forefathers expected or foretold. How wonderfully does

Fortune make sport of the purposes of man; how little can the explorer himself tell to what uses settlers will put the lands to which he has cleared the path. Champlain, besides seeking, like Henry Hudson, for a Northwest passage to the Pacific Ocean, came to establish the dominion of the royal House of France, to spread the Gospel, to open up a profitable trade in furs, and to make the river St. Lawrence and this lake great highways of commerce. The monarchy of France is gone, the Indians whom he sought to convert are gone, the furs are gone; and except for a short time when the trade in furs was active along Lake Champlain, the lake has never yet been a thoroughfare of trade. It promised to become one when, immediately after the first steamboat of Fulton was launched upon the Hudson, a second steamboat was launched to ply here. But soon after came the railroad, and by the time that the lands to the north and south had been so filled up that there were plenty of passengers and freight to carry to and fro, the swifter transportation by rail had superseded water carriage, and it is now the railroads and not the steamers that bear the crowd of passengers to and fro between New York and Montreal. However, if the hopes entertained by some enterprising Vermonters are realized and the now projected deep water line of navigation is opened up, it may be that the dream of Champlain will at last be realized and that your lake will at last become that highway of commerce he desired.

But now it has become at last a dwelling of peace and quiet. No more warships are seen upon your waters, no more forts stand armed upon your shores, no shouts from war canoes awaken the echoes of your cliffs. We have been celebrating for the last two days on the other side of the lake, first at Ticonderoga where Frenchmen and Englishmen fought on land, and then at Plattsburg where Colonial Americans and Englishmen fought on water, and you are to-day celebrating here in Vermont, a veritable festival of peace, to which my dear friend and colleague, the representative of France, has come to mingle his thoughts of peace with ours, and in which the soldiers of Canada have come to parade beside your soldiers, to be reviewed by your genial President, and to be welcomed, as they were yesterday, with an enthusiasm which thrilled every British and Canadian heart. One wonders what the future has in store for a lake whose history has been so strangely unlike what was predicted for it.

When one remembers the failures of prophets in the past, one ought to be shy of making any prophecies for the future; yet a man may be tempted to prophesy when he knows that the truth or falsity of his prediction cannot be known until long after he and those who hear him have all disappeared from this scene. So I will venture to make one prophecy. It does not seem likely that your shores either on this side or in New York State on the other side of the lake will ever be the scene of any startling or sudden develop-

ment of material wealth. You have indeed some fertile lands in southern Vermont, and some mines and marble quarries, but you have not here the coal that many other parts of the country possess, and your soil is not as fertile as are the regions along the Mississippi and its great tributaries. It is indeed possible that mineral wealth as yet unrevealed may lie hidden deep in the recesses of your mountains. Science so startles us nowadays with strange discoveries that we can never tell what store of minerals — possibly, though so far as we know, not probably, of radium, far more costly than gold — may be discovered in the bosom of some kind of rock not hitherto known to contain it. But, as far as we can look into the future at present, it would seem that the great assets of these hills and valleys of Vermont are neither minerals nor fertility of soil. But there are two other assets.

One is the race of men and women that inhabit it.

You men of northern Vermont and northern New Hampshire and Maine, living among the Appalachian rocks and mountains in a region which may be called the Switzerland of America — you are the people who have had hearts full of the love of freedom which burns with the brightest flame among mountain peoples, and who have the restless energy and indomitable spirit which we always associate with such lake and mountain lands as those of Switzerland and Scotland. This bold spirit and force of character have been evident in the large number of distinguished men that you

have given to the United States, and in the hardy pioneers and settlers which you have sent forth from northern New England to reclaim from the wilderness and colonize and develop western New York and Ohio and the rich prairies of the farther West.

The other asset is the beauty and variety of the scenery with which Providence has blessed you. No other part of eastern America can compare for the varied charms of a wild and romantic nature with the regions that lie around Lake Champlain and the White Mountains. And as wealth increases in other parts of the country, as the gigantic cities of the Eastern States grow still vaster, as population thickens in the agricultural and manufacturing parts of Ohio and Pennsylvania, of Indiana and Illinois, one may foresee a time when the love of nature and the desire for health-giving recreation will draw more and more of the population of those cities and states, which will then be overcrowded, to seek the delights of nature in these spots where nature shows at her loveliest. It would need the imagination of a poet, or rather perhaps the glowing pen of a real estate agent, to figure out to what heights the value of landed property, and especially of villa sites on these shores, will have risen half a century hence. But this can be confidently said: The people of all eastern and north-central America will come more and more to resort to this region of mountains and lakes as the place in which relief will have to be sought from the constantly growing strain and

stress of our modern life. And one who values nature and loves nature, and who foresees such a future for this part of North America, cannot refrain from taking this and every opportunity of begging you to do all you can to safeguard and preserve those beauties and charms of nature which have here been lavished upon you in such abundant measure. Do not suffer any of these charms to be lost by any want of foresight on your part now. Save your woods, not only because they are one of your great natural resources that ought to be conserved, but also because they are a source of beauty which can never be recovered if they are lost. Do not permit any unsightly buildings to deform a beautiful bit of scenery which can be a joy to those who visit you. Just as cultivated fields and meadows add to the variety of a landscape by giving it a sense of human presence and useful labour, so also does the modest farmhouse, and the village church, and even the mansion looking out of its woods, if it be tasteful in form and colour. But the big, square brick factory and the tall chimney pouring forth a black smoke cloud are enough to destroy the charm of the sweetest landscape. In many another spot where they can be set up they will do no harm, but these exquisite shores are no place for them. So, too, preserve the purity of your streams and your lakes, not merely for the sake of the angler, but also for the sake of those who live on the banks, and of those who come to seek the freshness and delight of an unspoiled nature by

the river sides. Keep open the long grassy ridges that lead up to the rocky summits of those picturesque ranges which stretch themselves out before us. Let no man debar you from free access to the tops of your mountains and from the pleasure of wandering along their sides and enjoying the wide prospects they afford. I am sorry to say that in my own country there are persons who, in the interests of what they call their sporting rights, have endeavoured, and too often with success, to prevent the pedestrian, and the artist, and the geologist, and the botanist, and anyone who loves nature and seeks her in her remote and least accessible recesses, from climbing the mountains and enjoying the views they afford. We, who on our side of the Atlantic deplore the exclusion of the people from the hills of Scotland, warn you here not to suffer any such encroachments to be made on the natural right of every people to enjoy the scenery of their country. Men may for the sake of the whole community be debarred from trespassing on land dedicated to agriculture, but the bare hillsides and moorlands which cannot be used for tillage ought to remain free and open, available for the pleasure of everyone who seeks health and recreation there. I am glad to hear that you have in Vermont a club of mountain climbers who are making foot trails along the glens and ridges, and placing shelters below the highest peaks where the climber may find night quarters on his ascent through uplands far from any house. Such a club will doubt-

less help to watch over public rights. See to it, therefore, that you keep open for the enjoyment of all the people, for the humblest of the people, as well as for those who can hire villas and sail about in yachts of their own, the scenic beauties with which Providence has blessed you.

Some means you will surely find by which this noble lake, the most various in its beauty of all the many lakes of this Appalachian region, can be preserved for the enjoyment of your whole American people with some of that wild simplicity and romantic charm which it possessed when the canoe of Champlain the Discoverer first clove its silent waters.

It was then a deep solitude girt in by primeval forest. To-day its shores are studded by thriving towns and villages and "the rich works of men," as Homer calls them, give it a cheerful air. Beautiful it always was and is, for the long ridges of the Green Mountains look across to the bold Adirondack peaks, and between them the wide expanse smiles under the sun in myriad wavelets.

On one of the rocky headlands of Mount Desert Island a tablet of iron let into a mass of granite records the name of the man who first touched its coast. Here no monument is needed. The lake itself and its engirdling mountains are the best memorial to the heroic explorer, one of the first and greatest of those who won for France the glory of discovery, and whose own fame has now gone out over all the western world, Samuel de Champlain.

SOME HINTS ON PUBLIC SPEAKING

ADDRESS TO THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, APRIL, 1910.

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EIGHTY years ago Thomas Carlyle preached the gospel of Silence and denounced the growing tendency to talk in public. Since then the habit has increased, is increasing, and seems most unlikely to decrease. It may be true that everything worth saying has been said. Nevertheless, orations will go on as long as men are willing to listen.

You whom I see here present will join — some of you have already joined — the great army of orators, so it is natural that you should desire to have a few hints given you on the subject, even if they claim no other authority than that which fifty years of observation here and in Europe may seem to confer. They shall be put in the form of a few short maxims of a severely practical character. Most, perhaps all, of these maxims will appear obvious, but I give them not because they are novel, but because they are so constantly neglected as to be worth repeating.

1. Always have something to say. The man who has something to say and who is known never to speak unless he has, is sure to be listened to, especially in a deliberative assembly or wherever there is business to

be done, while the man of mere words carries no sort of weight. Try to have an idea, or if you cannot find one — ideas are none too common — have two or three relevant facts. You may tell me that sometimes a man is forced to speak when there is nothing to be said. This does not often happen, because if you think a little before you rise, you will almost always find something bearing on the matter in hand, even if the occasion be a purely ornamental one. There is a well-known speech of Cicero's in which he had to present a legal case on behalf of a poet. He evidently knew that the legal case was weak, so he passed quickly and lightly over it, but made a graceful and eloquent discourse upon poetry in general. The theme was not very novel then, and is still less novel now, but the discourse was so finished in its language that it can still be read with pleasure. So when you have to propose the health of some one of whose personal merits you know nothing, you may say something about the importance of his office if he is a state governor or a mayor, or the services rendered by his profession if he is a surgeon, or if he is a newspaper reporter, Milton's *Areopagitica* with its stately argument on behalf of the liberty of unlicensed printing may suggest something appropriate. If you can find nothing at all to say, don't say it. Your silence will not harm you in the long run.

Lord Brougham, who was a power in his day, though his eloquence does not suit our modern taste, advised young speakers to begin by acquiring fluency as the

one indispensable thing, and William Pitt the younger is said to have acquired his marvellous command of words by having been trained by his father to translate rapidly at sight from Latin authors. Nevertheless there is such a thing as a fatal fluency. Whoever follows Brougham's advice ought to beware the habit of thinking more of the words than of the sense.

2. Always know what you mean to say. If possible, consider beforehand what you are going to say, and make your own mind perfectly clear what is the argument which you want to put, or the facts you want to convey. If your own mind is muddled, much more muddled will your hearers be. Bring your thoughts to a point, reject whatever is irrelevant, and be content if you have one good point and can drive it home. It is pitiable to see how often a man who really has some knowledge of his subject goes groping or stumbling about, trying to get somewhere, but not getting anywhere, not for want of words, but because he cannot put his ideas into the form of definite propositions. In trying to discover what it is that you mean, you may discover that you mean nothing. If so, the sooner you know it the better. Sometimes one hears a speech in the course of which the speaker gets his own mind clear, and comes at last to know what he means, but when it is too late to get hold of the audience. If he had thought the thing out beforehand, all would have gone well.

3. Always arrange your remarks in some sort of order.

No matter how short they are to be, they will be the better for having a beginning, a middle, and an end. Nothing pleases an audience more than the sense that they are being led along a path towards a definite goal by a man who knows his way. It gives them confidence that the speaker understands what he is about and will bring them out all right somewhere. Do not, however, let your arrangement be so obtrusively elaborate as to alarm them. It used to be the fashion of Scottish preachers to divide their subject into three or four "heads" with a "firstly," a "secondly," a "thirdly," and so forth, under each head, so that the listener knew what a long road he had to travel. I remember one sermon in which a venerable minister got as far as nineteenthly under the second head. The process of classifying facts and arguments and placing them in their right order in one's own mind helps to clarify it, while it adds strength to the argument. It might almost be said that a well-arranged speech is seldom a bad speech, because in the process of arrangement a man of any sense is sure to find out the deficiencies in his facts or the weak points in his arguments in time to cure them.

4. At all hazards, Be Clear. Make your meaning, whatever it is, plain to your audience. Though obscure speech is usually due to obscure thought, this is not always so. Some persons who think clearly have not learned to express themselves clearly, because they are nervous in public, or have an insufficient command of

words. In such cases it may be better to resort to the expedient, otherwise to be deprecated, of reading a speech from manuscript rather than confuse the audience. You have, moreover, to think not of the form thoughts take in your own mind, but of the form in which they will be comprehensible by your audience. Do not imitate the bishop who, preaching in a village church, told Hampshire rustics that "Nature herself shall be the palimpsest on which Omnipotence shall inscribe the characters of a rejuvenated humanity." Let the construction of your sentences be simple enough for the hearers to follow, and the words such as they cannot fail to understand. To find themselves puzzled over your meaning, and while they are still puzzling over your last sentence, to be unable to attend to the next one, annoys your hearers and lessens the chance of pleasing or persuading them. Though obscurity of expression is mostly due to obscurity of thought, it sometimes happens that people whose thought is clear enough insist on wrapping it up in vague and cloudy rhetoric. To the rule that lucidity is the first of merits, there is one exception, viz., where a speaker feels himself driven to the shelter of obscurity. I have seen astute debaters, compelled by their position to speak, unwilling to be untruthful, yet forbidden by considerations of prudence to speak out frankly all they thought, deliberately involve themselves in a web of words where each sentence seemed to have a meaning, but the hearers were left to wonder what the whole speech meant.

But such contingencies are rare; you may go through life without getting caught in one.

5. In controversial speaking, as, for example, in conducting a lawsuit or arguing a proposal in a deliberative body, think always of what your opponent will say, and so frame your speech as to anticipate his answers and give little opening for his criticism. The grounds of this rule are too obvious to need illustration. Add to it the old maxim that in replying you ought to meet and counter your adversary's jest by earnest, and his earnest by jest. Aristotle said it, but mother wit has taught it to many a man who never heard of Aristotle.

6. Always reflect beforehand upon the kind of audience you are likely to have, for even in the same country or in the same section of the country audiences are by no means the same, and what suits one may not suit another. I have known practised speakers throw overboard the speech they had intended to deliver and substitute something different when they looked from the platform over the faces beneath. If your hearers are mostly educated men and women, you may assume much as already known which it would be proper to explain to persons of scantier knowledge. But it is safer to proceed on the assumption of ignorance (so long as you do not let the audience think you are talking down to them) than to assume knowledge. We are all of us more ignorant than other people know, or indeed than we know our-

selves. If the audience are disposed to be hostile, you will begin by putting them in good humour and trying to excite their curiosity as to the line you will take. If they are already wearied by the harangues of your predecessors, you will go at them with quick, sharp, bright, bold sentences, and will let them feel that you do not mean to detain them long. And you will watch them as you go along just as you would watch your fly on the surface of the water you are fishing.

7. Never despise those whom you address, whatever you may think of their intellectual attainments. Give them the best you have to give. You need not talk over their heads, as I once heard an eminent English historian, when he was candidate for a seat in Parliament, discourse to agricultural labourers upon the Landesgemeinde of the Forest Cantons of Switzerland. But you will find it politic as well as polite to respect them, and you must never think that your best thoughts, expressed in the fittest words, are too good for them. Though noisy and empty rhetoric will often draw cheers, still the masses of the common people almost always appreciate solid and relevant facts, sound and useful thoughts, stated in language they can understand, and there will probably be among them those who would perceive and resent any indication that you were talking down to their inferior capacity.

8. Be sparing of literary ornament, except in speeches that are of a frankly decorative kind, such

as those made after dinner, or panegyrics of some notable person whom it is wished to honour. Just as an ornament should seem when used in architecture, to be an original and essential part of the whole design, so in oratory the decorative parts should be connected with, and naturally grow out of, the substance of the matter in hand, and should help to make the speech more vivid and telling, rather than seem stuck on in order to please the ear without strengthening the sense. Abraham Lincoln rendered a great service to American eloquence when he renounced the florid or tawdry style that prevailed in his day, and set an example of speaking that was plain, direct, and terse. Be sparing with superlatives; reserve them for occasions where they will really tell. Take pains to choose the strong and simple words, and the words that exactly fit the case. Even an audience that is not itself very cultivated feels the charm of choice and pointed diction, and of words that have some touch of colour in them, such as apt metaphors. A well chosen metaphor often clinches an argument, or becomes an illustration of it in miniature.

9. As respects humorous anecdotes, and jokes in general, these are eminently matters of individual taste, in which each man will please himself, and few general counsels can be given. Though we all envy the speaker who has plenty of merry jests, he needs to beware of abusing his gift. There is a tendency to-day to make after-dinner speaking a mere string of anecdotes,

most of which may have little to do with the subject or with one another. Even the best stories lose their charm when they are dragged in by the head and shoulders, having no connection with the allotted theme. Relevance as well as brevity is the soul of wit, for a good speech is a work of art, in which every part should have an organic relation to every other part. And when you tell a story, take some pains with the form of it. The late Mr. James Russell Lowell, whom we in England admired as the best after-dinner speaker of his day, was a master in that line. The classical felicity of his diction set off and gave a charm to the smallest anecdote he told.

10. Never, if you can help it, be dull. It is a fault to have too many flowers or too many fireworks, but it is a worse fault to be tedious. An eminent Oxford teacher of my undergraduate days, who is now a learned and distinguished English writer, coined for his pupils a phrase which had a great vogue in the university: "It is better to be flippant than to be dull." This audacious advice, meant for young writers, is even more applicable to young speakers, because, bad as dulness is in print, it is still worse when you cannot escape from it without quitting the dinner table. Many are the causes of dreariness in a speech. One is lack of good matter, for it often happens that the less a man has to say, the more he spins it out. A still commoner one is confused thinking, which makes the speaker lose himself in vague and pointless phrases. Another

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first began to speak in public his utterance was so rapid that on one occasion a newspaper reported an address he had made at a political meeting in the following words: "The next speech was made by our young townsman, Mr. John Bright, but he spoke so fast that our reporter was quite unable to follow him." When and after Bright had reached his prime, the measured deliberation with which he delivered his sentences made them tell like the blows of a hammer.

12. Never read from manuscript if you can help it, unless when the occasion is one of such exceptional solemnity or dignity that a long and highly finished piece of composition is expected. As for notes, the fewer the better, but if you find that you cannot trust your memory to supply the order of the topics and the particular points you wish to make, or illustrations you wish to intersperse, it is better to refer to your notes for these than to miss the points altogether. There are speakers whose habit it is to carry notes in their pocket even when they hope not to use them. It gives confidence, and saves them from such a fiasco as I have seen befall even practised debaters in the House of Commons, when, having suddenly lost the thread of their discourse, they were obliged to sink sadly to their seats, amid the crushing commiseration of their opponents.

13. Whether you use notes or not, always have ready two or three sentences with which to sit down. You need not be either flowery or sublime in your closing words, but some sort of a peroration you ought to have

at command, so as not to bungle and hesitate when the time for ending comes. How often do we see an unhappy fellow-creature go maundering or floundering helplessly along, amid the growing contempt of the audience, having already said all he had got to say, and yet unable to stop because he feels that a closing sentence is needed and he cannot find one.

14. Lastly — and this is a maxim which is of universal application, Never weary your audience. If they are tired before you rise to speak, cut your speech short, unless you feel able to freshen them up and dispel their weariness. Just as physicians say that a man ought to leave off eating while he is still hungry enough to go on eating, so let your hearers wish for more food from you, rather than feel they have had too much already. Consider the hour of the evening and human weakness. One of the most successful speeches I remember to have heard of was made by a famous engineer at a great public dinner of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He came last; and midnight had arrived. His toast was Applied Science, and his speech was as follows: "Ladies and Gentlemen, at this late hour I advise you to illustrate the Applications of Science by applying a lucifer match to the wick of your bedroom candle. Let us all go to bed."

It might be rash to say that a short speech is never a bad speech, for I have known a man grieve his friends and ruin his case in five minutes. But for ten speeches that are too short there are a hundred that are too long.

A lecture ought not to exceed fifty minutes, a sermon twenty-five minutes, an after-dinner speech (unless of course it is meant to be the chief address of the evening) fifteen minutes. For speeches in law-courts or legislatures, where a mass of facts may have to be expounded and commented on, limits cannot be fixed, but all speeches, everywhere, gain by compression. Mr. Bright, like Chatham and most of our great orators, seldom spoke for more than an hour. Mr. Gladstone, like Edmund Burke, did not so restrict himself, and both these illustrious men suffered from their copiousness so far as the audience of the moment was concerned, though no one could wish Burke's magnificent orations, as we now have them in print, to be shorter by a sentence. Like Daniel Webster's, they are good all through.

The maxim not to tire or bore your audience is part of a wider precept; viz., to remember the main purpose of a speech. Most speakers are beset, especially in their earlier days, by a temptation from which even those of longer experience are not exempt, the temptation to regard a speech as the opportunity for displaying talent rather than as a means to an end.

The aims or ends of speaking are commonly classed as two. One is to Persuade. The other is to Delight. In order to persuade a court or a jury you must think not of showing off your theoretical gifts, but of getting the judgment or the verdict. The best speech is the speech that convinces court or jury. In a legislative

body, the best speech is that which draws votes, or, if that be impossible, which puts heart into your own party. When the speech is meant not to persuade, but to give delight, there are three quarters in which pleasure may be felt; the person in whose honour the speech is made, the audience, and yourself. It is a common error to think too much of the last and too little of the second. So long as you are mindful to say nothing unworthy of yourself, nothing untrue, nothing vulgar, you had better forget yourself altogether and think only of the audience, how to get them and how to hold them. Keep your mind fixed upon your hearers and upon the end in view, whether it be to please or to convince. Appreciation will come if it is deserved, and will come all the more if you do not too obviously play for it.

You will sometimes make failures, for nobody is always at his best. Do not be discouraged. The fault may not be your own, for much depends on conditions you cannot command. But when you feel you have fallen below the best that you can do, ask yourself why, and if the fault is in yourself, try to correct it next time.

SPECIAL AND GENERAL EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES

ADDRESS DELIVERED ON COMMEMORATION DAY AT JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, FEBRUARY 22D, 1911.

SPECIAL AND GENERAL EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES

ADDRESS DELIVERED ON COMMEMORATION DAY AT JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, FEBRUARY 22D, 1911.

YOUR University looks back to-day upon thirty-five years of educational work which has been of permanent significance for all the seats of learning and study in the English-speaking countries of the world. The conception of creating a University which should provide in various branches of knowledge advanced courses to be taken by men who had completed their general liberal education, was then a comparatively novel one in those countries; and it requires an effort to carry oneself back to a time when the now elaborate machinery of post-graduate courses, which has been spreading itself through the leading universities in the United States, did not exist. To the Johns Hopkins University belongs the honour of having first put into practice this fertile conception, and of having carried it out with a thoroughness to which its diffusion and its success are very largely due. The name of your late admirable President will always be associated in the educational history of North America with this epoch-making "new departure," and the

University has always since lived up to the standard of thoroughness, and preference of real work to display, from which it started. Its adherence to that standard, its continued embodiment of the ideal of scientific perfection, have given it the position of influence and dignity which it now occupies in the world.

A remarkable feature of the thirty-five years over which you look back is the wonderful development of many departments of human knowledge, and especially of those which are concerned with the sciences of nature, into special branches, each of which has been tending to become more distinct from the others. So far from finding ourselves approaching the end of knowledge, we find that the more we know the more remains beyond to be known, and that the realm of the unknown seems to be steadily increasing with every addition to our knowledge. It is as though the particular path which we are following was always diverging into a number of different paths which tend to separate from one another, and each of which leads into untrodden solitudes to which we see no end. Within the recollection of most of us, new branches of science have made good their place, and have become recognized as separate fields of enquiry, and along with this it has befallen that the great majority of scientific enquirers now begin, as soon as their general scientific education has been completed, to devote themselves to one particular branch of investigation and throw

their whole energy into pushing it forward. A man is now not a "natural philosopher" in the old sense of the term, but belongs to some one of the specific branches into which natural philosophy has become divided. The mass of papers and articles upon all the branches of science that fills the weekly and monthly and quarterly and yearly magazines and reports of proceedings of learned bodies in all civilized countries, is now so vast that the most powerful intellect cannot follow and keep pace with what is being accomplished even in its own special branch. Indices and books designed to be guides to the ever accumulating pile increase in number, but do not meet our needs. In chemistry, for instance, there is published every year a body of facts greater than all that stood recorded in the days of Black and Priestley. The same thing has happened in those practical arts which depend upon the application of science. They, too, have multiplied by division, and thus new practical professions, each employing many thousands of persons, such as photography and electrical engineering, have grown up, which were unknown seventy years ago.

The same thing has, of necessity, happened in university education. We have now in all duly organized universities professors of a large number of distinct branches of knowledge which were formerly lumped together as being one branch under one professor. When I was a student in the University of Glasgow,

and also in that of Oxford, I remember that there was in each but one professor of physics.

So also among students the tendency is for those who have advanced some way to begin to concentrate their efforts upon one particular line of study and investigation. Both the teacher and the student are naturally fascinated by the prospect of discovery. The professor likes best to lecture upon the subject in which he is pushing forward his own investigations, and the student is able to find in them the most attractive field of experimental research.

This sort of specialization has become inevitable, but there is a consequence attached to it which appears almost equally inevitable, yet in some aspects regrettable. Part of the time which was previously given to general study, *i.e.* to a knowledge both of natural science in general and of other non-scientific subjects, must needs be now devoted to this special study.

The field of nature is unlimited. Human curiosity is unlimited. But human life and the capacity for using our time and our powers in the acquisition of knowledge remain within very narrow bounds. It would be rash to set limits to what scientific research, such as that which members of the brilliant medical faculty of this University carry on, may effect in the way both of extending human life and of making health more vigorous and thus improving the working powers of the mind. Still, life is short, terribly short for all that we want to learn and do, and

there is no present prospect that it will be much prolonged. Has it not sometimes occurred to you what a pity it is that the immense length of working years which mankind is said to have enjoyed in the days before the Flood, when scientific investigations, so far as we know, were slender, and directed to purely practical ends, could not have been reserved for times like our own, in which a long life is more needed for utilizing the accumulated knowledge and skill a great scholar and student can bring to bear upon the materials that now lie before us? What might not Darwin or Helmholtz or Kelvin or Mommsen or Ranke or the distinguished historian whom America has lately lost, Mr. Henry C. Lea, have accomplished with a working life extended in some proportion to the vaster fields of enquiry that attract us to-day?

The problem which now confronts us in all universities is how to find time both for these specialized studies, which are daily becoming more absorbing, and also for the obtaining that kind of survey and comprehension of the general field of human knowledge which is necessary in order to make the university graduate a truly educated and cultivated man, capable of seeing the relation of his own particular study to others and of appreciating the various methods by which discovery is prosecuted. This problem of reconciling special with general study, although most urgent in the sciences of nature, shows itself in what may be called the human subjects also. In history, for instance,

one now finds people who devote themselves entirely to one period of history, and will complacently tell you, when a question belonging to some other time is raised, that they know nothing about it because it is "not in their period." So there are people who give themselves up so entirely to the study of economic history that they may know very little of civil or ecclesiastical history in general.

However, it is chiefly in the sciences of nature that the difficulty I am referring to arises. These are now tending to overshadow all other studies, partly because the numerous practical applications to which they are turned have acquired immense industrial importance for men and nations, and partly also because we are all fascinated by the progress of discovery, and are so eager to attain certitude that we are disposed to turn from those enquiries in which complete certitude is unattainable to those in which the laws of nature provide an absolutely firm basis. And it is in the natural sciences that the subdivision and specialization referred to have gone farthest.

The problem has accordingly two aspects. It raises the question of a mastery of the principles of the sciences of nature in general as against a highly specialized study of some one department in those sciences. It also raises the question of the respective claims of the study of physical science, or some branch of it, as against the claims of what may be called the human sciences, or, if you prefer it, hu-

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manistic subjects. It is upon this latter aspect that I have a few observations to submit.

What do we mean by general intellectual cultivation as opposed to special knowledge? Without attempting a complete definition — nothing is more dangerous than a definition — I will suggest a description. We mean such a knowledge of the main facts and distinctive methods of various branches of human knowledge as furnishes a general idea of the relations of each branch to other branches; that is to say, a comprehension of what truth and certitude mean in different departments of study, and of what are the various paths by which truth may be reached or approached. Were I asked to indicate what this would include, I should make some such answer as this: In the sphere of natural science, it would include a knowledge not necessarily wide, but sound and exact so far as it went, of a deductive science such as geometry, and of some science of observation such as a branch of natural history, geology, for instance, or some department of biology, or of such an experimental science as chemistry. On the human side, it would include a knowledge of one at least among what may be called the more abstract subjects, such as psychology (in the older sense) or logic or ethics, and of one of the more observational subjects such as economics or politics. It would include a knowledge of the principles of language, and of at least one foreign tongue, ancient or modern, preferably an inflected tongue possess-

ing a literature. And, finally, it must include the record of human effort and development through the ages, that is to say, history, which shows us how man has grown from what he was in the past to be what he is in the present, and holds out hopes of what he may be in the future. Without at least an elementary knowledge of these matters, no man is properly equipped for a life of study and thought, or for those branches of the practical work of life which require a wide intellectual outlook. It is not necessary to-day, as it would have been fifty years ago, to argue that every educated man should have some knowledge of deductive science and of the observational and experimental sciences of nature. But it is beginning to be necessary to vindicate for the other great department of enquiry, that which relates to Man, its rightful place in a general scheme of education.

Specialization is not only inevitable for the progress of discovery, but in many minor ways excellent. It is a splendid thing for a great university like this to have among its professors men each of whom is abreast of the highest development of some particular line of enquiry and knows how that line of enquiry ought to be prosecuted, so that it holds within its own walls, so to speak, an accumulated mass of various knowledge, representing that to which the world has yet attained. The scientific specialist makes interesting company — when I have a chance I always try to get beside him at dinner — because he is able to tell us what we seek to

know of the progress of discovery in the growing sciences, and we have only to interrogate him to get at once, without the labour of consulting books, the latest results in the clearest form. The scientific investigator, moreover, seems to have on the whole the happiest kind of life that is now possible. Does he know how happy he is? Engaged in the discovery of truth, he has for his helpers all others engaged in the same pursuit, and feels that all his labours are working towards a noble and useful end. He is free from the vexations that beset the business man or the lawyer or the politician. He depends on no man's favour. He is not expected to say anything of whose truth he entertains secret doubts. If he has not a happy life, granted good health, it is probably his own fault, for what more can one desire than to be, as Bacon says, the interpreter as well as the servant of Nature?

Admitting all this, and much more that might be said about the interest and pleasure of enquiry concentrated on one department, it is nevertheless right to present to you some dangers that seem to arise from the immense extension of the specializing tendency and from the predominance, in particular, of the study of the natural sciences to the exclusion of other topics. We are accustomed to divide the subjects of enquiry into two great departments; those, the human subjects, in which we deal with probable matter, and that field of Nature in which all is fixed, certain, positive, immutable. Some one may, to be sure, remark

that the phenomena of nature may possibly be undergoing some slow process of change. We cannot be sure that oxygen and hydrogen may not be different now from what they once were, or that alterations may not conceivably occur in the proportion of the constituents present in compound chemical bodies. However that is all speculation. For our present purposes, we think of the sciences of nature as being occupied with that which is permanent and unchangeable. They deal with those laws which we believe, so far as our knowledge goes, to be immutable, to have been operative in the past and likely to be operative in the future, even as they are operative now. Now he whose whole time and thoughts are given to the study of these unchanging laws does not learn thereby how to deal with that which is mutable and transient. But the mutable and the transient include not only most of what concerns our daily life, but the whole immense field of knowledge which covers the human subjects. Here we deal not with the Certain but with the Probable. The realm of ideas, beliefs, theories, emotions, institutions, habits, — in fact, the entire realm of human thought, human society, human conduct, belongs to the sphere of the transitory and changeable. In investigating the phenomena of this realm, we have to walk by methods which are not only not the same as those which belong to the sciences of nature, but differ from the latter by being far more intricate. The investigation of probable

matter is more perplexing and less satisfying because its results are less definite and positive than are those enquiries at the end of which stands, like a statue closing a vista between trees, the figure of certain and immutable Truth. Those accordingly who try to apply to the human subjects the same formulæ and methods which they apply to nature are in danger of failing when they enter the field which includes history and all political or social phenomena. Differences in the subject matter imply differences in the proper mode of treatment. As men erred five centuries ago when they tried to explain nature by applying to her their own crudely formed abstract notions, so now it is an error to think that in probable matter the methods applicable to natural phenomena can be so applied as to attain equally certain and definite conclusions. Does it not follow that an education in the methods proper to these last-named historical and social fields is as needful as is a knowledge of the methods of physical enquiry?

Sixty years ago people complained, and complained justly, of the narrowness of those persons, some of them of the highest eminence, who had been trained entirely on the old scheme of education, which largely consisted in grammatical studies, and especially in a knowledge of the ancient languages. Men so trained, men highly gifted and instructed, often failed to appreciate the interest and value of the study of nature, and showed a strange incapacity to understand the processes it employs. I remember some such among our leading

English statesmen. A whole world of interests and pleasures was closed to them by an ignorance that was too often self-complacent. In travelling, for instance, distinguished historians did not see, because they had not been taught to observe, all sorts of natural features in a country which might have helped them to understand its history. Bacon has warned us against that absorption in a particular set of ideas, that prepossession in favor of one particular view which he classes among the *Idola Specus*, the phantasms of the Cave, which surround the man who sits in the dark recesses of his own remote and secluded thought unillumined by the light of the broad sky. So now the devotion to any special study, whether in the sphere of natural science or in any other, tends to narrow the mind and prevents its faculties from attaining their highest development. Many of the greatest discoveries have arisen from bringing together facts and ideas drawn from different regions whose relations had not previously been discerned. The more you extend the range of knowledge, the more you increase the chances of such discoveries. Most of the great men to whom the progress of science is due were in their early days trained not as specialists, but had minds that ranged far and wide like keen-eyed eagles over the vast field of knowledge.

The chief end of education is to stimulate curiosity, to make a man ask about all things, be they familiar or unfamiliar, the How and the Why, to discover matter for enquiry in facts which other people have

passed over without thinking of the problems they suggest, to retain that activity and versatility and freshness which are the most characteristic marks of a forceful and creative intellect. Is it not wonderful how many things were overlooked in the past which we now perceive to need investigation? The ancients, both in the Greek and in the Italian lands, must, for instance, have noticed how various are the aspects and structure of different kinds of rock. The differences between gneiss and limestone, between basalt and slate, stared them in the face. They saw fossil shells in the strata. But though observant men like Herodotus sometimes noted facts which suggested the working of forces that had changed the earth's surface, it did not occur to them to seek any general explanation of these phenomena, and geological science is not yet two centuries old. So ancient observers described plants and were interested in their pharmaceutical properties; they described tribes of men and sometimes raised questions as to their forms of speech, but it did not occur to them to classify either the plants or languages on any scientific principles. Hippocrates was a great physician, scientific in his methods. Why did his successors not carry them on with a perseverance and exactitude which would have produced great results? Was it because they had given themselves too much to the study of words and of rhetoric, and because their brilliant dialectical gifts had drawn them away from the observation of facts? One wonders

how it happened that a race so wonderfully gifted as were the Greeks, who seemed frequently on the very edge of great discoveries in physical science, did not find and pursue the paths which have led us to the unveiling of the secrets of Nature. And one wonders also whether there are any phenomena which we now are passing by unexamined because it has never struck us that they deserve enquiry.

The wider the range of a man's interests, the more susceptible he is to ideas of many kinds, so much greater is the pleasure which life can afford him, and so much the better can he contribute to the progress of the world both by stimulating others and by himself pointing out the way in which advances can be made. Different as are the phenomena in different parts of the field of knowledge, and different in some respects as are even the methods to be applied, the habit of keen observation and steady reflection formed in any department quickens a man's powers in every other; and just as an historian will profit by knowing something of geology or botany, so a student of natural history may profit by knowing how the human mind used to approach nature before our modern methods had come into being. A university has to think not only of forming specialists, but of making these specialists better by giving them a wide range of knowledge, and still more of sending out men who sustain the level of taste and insight in the whole community and are fit to be its intellectual leaders.

You may ask how time is to be found both for special studies and for the sort of general cultivation that I have tried to describe. Must the general studies precede specialization, or is it possible to carry them on together, and to show young men, even in their last university year, how to correlate their special scientific studies with a mastery of other fields? These are practical questions which I must leave to your superior competence. The principle which we seem chiefly called upon to uphold is the principle of breadth and catholicity in education, the recognition not only of the duty of a great university to provide teaching in all the main subjects, but also of the truth that a one-sided education is an imperfect education. The error of those who a century ago deemed a grammatical and literary curriculum sufficient was no greater than is that of those who now dispute and seek to exclude the human subjects; or who hold that any single branch either of the human or of the natural subjects is enough to inform the mind or to develop and polish it to its highest efficiency.

THE STUDY OF ANCIENT LITERATURE

ADDRESS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN CHAPTER OF THE ΦBK SOCIETY, APRIL, 1911.

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NOT long ago I read in an American novel this sentence: "The life of an American man is Business." If this merely meant that Business is the dominant feature in the life of the United States, occupying most of men's time and thoughts, it is true, and scarcely less true of such countries as England and Germany. As it is everybody's first need everywhere to make an income sufficient to support himself and his family, so in a country which is still in the stage of swift material development and where opportunities abound for the exercise of practical talent and the amassing of large fortunes, commerce and industry and such professions as engineering and law must necessarily hold the foremost place.

But the sentence may also mean that the normal American man thinks and cares for nothing but business; and that was probably the sense intended by the writer. If this were true, you as University men would think it ought not to be true, and would deem it disparaging to your universities. Of all the countries of the world, the United States is that in which the largest

proportion of university graduates enter a business career, or conversely, it is the country in which the largest proportion of men engaged in business have received a university education. Now one main use of that education is to prevent business from being the whole of an American man's life; in other words, its aim is to give him intellectual interests and tastes outside business. Whatever a man's active career, be it commercial business or any other, he finds it hard to maintain those other interests under the constant pressure of the practical work of life. That is why university teaching ought to try to root them so deeply in the mind and give them such a hold on our affection that they will resist the pressure.

Two generations ago the study of ancient literature held a foremost place among those intellectual interests, and not a few university men used to go on reading and drawing pleasure from the Greek and Latin classics through the whole of their lives. These writings had become a part of their minds. Few men so read now; few in Europe, still fewer here. The study of Latin has shrunk to narrow dimensions, and that of Greek is in many universities practically extinct. In the West both languages are more studied by women than by men. An association has, however, been founded for defending, and if possible extending, classical studies. As its headquarters are planted in this great university, you may naturally wish to hear some remarks upon the case to be made for those

studies, for they can no longer rely on tradition but must support their claim by definite and positive arguments which will appeal to a public that is now, both in Europe and here, bent upon the practically useful, and somewhat prejudiced against every habit which the (now discredited) "wisdom of our ancestors" favoured.

Let us begin by frankly admitting that the excessive importance given a century ago to the languages of Greece and Rome has prejudiced them in the modern eye. The claims made for them were so extravagant as to have disparaged their real merits. We may moreover doubt whether some of the arguments used on their behalf have much weight. Grammar is a useful study if taught in a rational way, so as to induce thought, and not by forcing wretched children to repeat its rules by rote. It is also true that the grammar of inflected and synthetic languages affords better mental training than does that of French or German, which it is proposed to substitute for Latin, not to speak of English, the grammar of which is perhaps better left untaught altogether. Nevertheless, the advantages of learning Greek and Latin grammar have been exaggerated, and it has absorbed an undue share of the learner's time and toil.

It used also to be argued that a knowledge of Latin was serviceable because it explained the etymology of many English words, and because it was a gateway leading into the modern Romance languages. Both con-

siderations have a certain weight, but in education there are now so many subjects competing for the student's time that a stronger case must be made for each subject than was thought necessary two centuries ago. More importance may perhaps be allowed to the argument that the learning of any language besides one's own is of value to the mind, because the mere process of turning thought expressed in one set of words into another set of words is in itself a training in thought, and tends to enlarge the range of a man's ideas by suggesting different ways of expressing them. But there again, though the argument is a sound one, it has not proved sufficient to carry conviction to any minds except those who have given serious thought to educational subjects. Most people say that the result is not adequate to the time spent in learning an ancient language, and that if it is desirable to possess some language besides one's own, why not learn French or German or Spanish, in which there is a prospect of an immediate return of profit upon the capital of the time invested by the learner.

You have got to face the fact that to the large majority of men nowadays, whatever relates to the past seems obsolete and useless — "What difference can it make to us now," they say, "what men did or wrote or thought twenty centuries ago? Their ideas may have been good when first expressed, but we have got far beyond them. They supposed that the sun went round the earth. They did not use steam or electricity, and

did not even know the composition of air and of water. Of what value can their writings be to us?"

Even those of your antagonists who admit the value and charm of good literature will tell you that there is in our own language literature more than sufficient to occupy all the time that the learner can spare for that side of education. "If few persons know more than three or four plays of Shakespeare, if few educated men of this generation have read through Paradise Lost, why send us to Homer or Æschylus when we can get what is just as good in our own tongue and yet do not generally care to get it?"

These are the views, this is the attitude of mind which confronts you in your efforts to advocate the study of the ancient classics. Your difficulty is that there is very little common ground between you and them. Your conception of education differs from that which is now popular, and your sense of the value of the ancient classics is incommunicable, because it springs from a personal knowledge which nowadays comparatively few possess.

Accordingly, in suggesting to you what seem to me the strongest considerations by which your contention can be supported, I must make two preliminary remarks.

One is that I submit these considerations in no belief that they will prove effective with those you seek to convince. They are given only in the hope that they may confirm you in your own convictions, and possi-

bly make clearer to you the grounds of those convictions.

The other remark is that it is too late to attempt to restore to Greek and Latin the place they held in the scheme of liberal education seventy years ago. It is not to be desired that they should recover it, because the percentage of pupils who derived substantial and permanent profit was a small percentage. You may say that this was largely due to the unintelligent character of the old teaching, which dwelt upon grammar and neglected literature. Still the fact remains that under any system of teaching more than a half of the boys in schools and undergraduates in colleges who may be taught Latin, and five-sixths of those who may be taught Greek, will not get far enough to enjoy the literature and give it a permanent hold on their minds. Your efforts must, therefore, be directed towards securing that there shall always be a provision of classical teaching sufficient to enable those who show aptitude for these studies to pursue them, and that the universities shall, by their degree regulations, or otherwise, impress upon the student the high value attaching to such a mastery of the two languages as will open to him the enjoyment of the literatures they contain. How many thousands of students annually graduate in the faculty of arts from all the universities of the United States I do not know — doubtless more than ten thousand. What you desire is, I assume, that of these thousands of graduates there should always

be some hundreds (besides those who intend to be clergymen or university teachers) who can read Herodotus and Plato with pleasure, and when they wish to be sure of the meaning of a passage in the New Testament will go to the original Greek for help.

Now can we find grounds to show that it is in the interest of the nation that there should always be, say, this five per cent or upwards. You probably agree in the view that it is in the literature of the ancient languages that their real value lies, not in a knowledge of their grammar, nor in the help they can afford to the lawyer or physician or clergyman in his profession, considerable as that help may be. What then is the special value of these ancient literatures? Do they give us anything, and if so, what, that we cannot equally well obtain from modern literature?

There has never been an era in the history of the civilized peoples when they were all so entirely and almost exclusively occupied with the present as they are to-day. The Romano-Hellenic world lived upon the Greek literature of the times from Homer downwards and based education upon it. In the Dark Ages and Middle Ages men were constantly looking back to the ancient world as a sort of golden age and were cherishing every fragment that had come down to them therefrom. The scholars and thinkers of the Renaissance who obtained those Greek books for which their predecessors had vainly sighed, drew from those books their inspiration. It was they that lit

up the fires of new literary effort in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, Britain; and thereafter two centuries were spent in commenting on and imitating the classical authors. The Bible and the Fathers of the Church had been the intellectual food of the clergy down to the age of the Reformation, and from that time Protestants as well as Roman Catholics were employed till the middle of the eighteenth century in expounding and arguing about the doctrines of Christianity. All through those centuries, past events and past writings occupied the minds of men (though history was not much taught as history) and were a large part of the instruction given in schools and universities. Many ancient books continued to be treated as models of excellence long after some better books on similar subjects had been produced in a modern tongue. Even in this new country, the educated men of your Revolutionary period were brought up on Greek and Latin authors and learnt a great deal about the ancient world. You had not then made history for yourselves. In our time, however, we see phenomena altogether different. Theology engages much less of the average man's thoughts, while persons of a specially religious cast of mind are occupied far more with good works and what are called social questions than with the Bible or Christian history.

Natural science has filled the void left by the diminished interest in the things of the past. It concerns itself entirely with the present, or rather with a world

in which time does not exist and in which therefore there is no past. Even among those who know little or nothing about any branch of science the impression prevails that science and its applications are the form of knowledge that now counts for success in life.

The social and political changes in progress since 1789, and most evidently during the last thirty years both here and in Europe, have raised in the social scale, and have provided instruction for, classes which had been previously illiterate, so that the standard in literature, and especially in ephemeral literature, is no longer fixed by a small, highly educated class, but is the resultant of the tastes and notions of various classes,—some of them on a low level of knowledge. Newspapers, in particular, are written primarily with a view to circulation, and to the income from advertisements which circulation insures; that is, they are written for the masses of the people. Now for the masses, the past, with its heroes, its achievements, its literature, has little meaning. Their education has not given them the opportunity of knowing or caring about it. Their rise has increased the already overmastering impulse towards elements of practical utility in education.

There used to be one fountain whence the whole body of the people drew ideas that carried them back into the past and touched their imagination by presenting figures and scenes very unlike their own daily life. That was the Bible. It is now unhappily less familiar than formerly to every class in the community.

A smaller proportion of both the richer and the poorer classes attend church than was the case a century ago, and whoever has been in the habit, in public addresses, of referring or alluding to Biblical incidents or of using Biblical phrases, perceives that he cannot now assume, as he could have done forty years ago, that a large proportion of his audience would recognize the reference or the phrase.

Thus in many ways and through divers influences, men of to-day are now more purely children of the present than was any previous generation. This is even more true of North America than of Europe, for here there are far fewer things to recall the past, fewer links binding the present to it. Among the mass of the people interest in the past goes back hardly farther than to the Revolutionary War, and it is only the excellent society of Colonial Dames who exert themselves to recall to the public events of earlier date. Only the best educated men seem to duly realize the continuity of American history with European history, and to feel that all that happened in Europe before the middle of the seventeenth century, as well as a good deal that has happened since, is a part of your American history and has gone to the making you what you are.

Now although the world may be weary of the past, as Shelley said a hundred years ago, it cannot shake itself clear of the past. You here and we in Europe may be eagerly bent on the future, resolved to make it better for the bulk of mankind than the past has been. But we

can conjecture the future only from what we know of the past, that is to say, from what we know of human nature and the processes by which it and human institutions change. One who knows only his own country and people does not really know them, because it is only by knowing something of other countries and their peoples that he can tell which characteristics of his own people are normal, generally present in all peoples, and which are peculiar to his own. So, likewise, he who knows only his own time does not really know it, for he cannot distinguish between the characteristics that are transient and those that are permanent. This is the main use of history, besides of course the pleasure which all knowledge gives. To know what we are, we must know how we came to be what we are, and must realize that we shall before long pass into something different.

A profitable knowledge of history consists not so much in remembering events, — wars and treaties, and the making of constitutions and the reigns and characters of kings or presidents, — as in knowing what men were like in the days that are gone. What were their aims and hopes and pleasures and beliefs? How did they think and feel?

The best source of that knowledge is, for any period of the past, to be found in the literature it produced, for that was the natural expression of its life, given forth through its more gifted spirits, and that is a record which, being contemporary and spontaneous, cannot have been perverted, as narratives of fact sometimes

are, by those who come after. Thus the periods which we can study with most profit are those which have left us not only a record of events, but also a rich and noble literature contemporaneous with the events through which the soul of the people, its ideas and its impulses, revealed itself in action. History is the study of human nature and is best studied when one has the means of interpreting men's acts by their thoughts and their thoughts by their acts. Literature gives a picture which is in so far imperfect that it tells us less than we desire to know about the ordinary man because it proceeds from the more powerful minds who have the faculty of expression. But it speaks with a compensating vividity.

Nobody can hope to comprehend many historical periods through their literature as well as by familiarity with their events. We must select a few for study. Now there is one period which has three recommendations making it more instructive than any other. It is the best general introduction to all historical study and to all literary study. This is the classical age of Greece and Rome, and the three things that recommend it are the following: —

I. It is the beginning of literature and practically the beginning of history, its first great product, the Homeric poems, antedating even the earliest prophets of Israel whose utterances have come down to us in the Old Testament. As the most beautiful hour of the day is the Dawn, though city dwellers seldom see it,

and as the most winning time of the year is the Spring, so there is a peculiar charm in the first efforts man made in the supreme art of poetry. Simplicity and directness, sometimes joined to exuberant imagination, delight us in most of the earlier literature of all nations. We find them in the old Celtic poetry and the old Arabian poetry, in the Eddaic poems and the Sagas of Iceland, in the Lay of the Nibelungs, in the Vedas, in the ballads of our own race, from the song of the battle of Brunanburh, down to the ballads of Chevy Chase and Flodden. But in the early poetry of Greece these qualities are united to a constructive power and an artistic sense which can be found nowhere else. Even in the Attic dramatists and the later Greek lyrists something of the primal simplicity remains.

II. The literature and institutions and civilization of Greece and Rome are for all the modern nations the first fountain heads of that European civilization which has swept down to us in a widened current. Art, the drama, philosophy, geometry, speculations in the field of politics as well as in the fields of physical enquiry, all begin with the Greeks: there is hardly a branch of intellectual achievement that is not traceable to them. So from Rome descend the institutions of law and government under which the modern world lives, though modified in Great Britain and America by Teutonic ideas and traditions. In the history of the ancients we see our own beginnings and comprehend them better. We see also the environment into

which Christianity was born and the influences that affected its growth, moulded its forms of worship, gave it a dogmatic system and a hierarchy. No later period has therefore the same importance for modern peoples as that of Romano-Hellenic civilization, for out of it there sprang that which is common to all the nations of the modern world and which they possess as a joint heritage.

III. The literature of these two languages better illustrates their history, and the history stands in closer relation to the literature, than is the case with any other of the more recent national literatures. It is, moreover, all the fitter to be studied, because while it is as a whole scanty, compared with modern literature, it contains an unusually large proportion of work of extraordinary merit. We are accustomed to deplore the loss of many works of great ancient authors. Some have specially mourned over the lost books of Livy and Tacitus, some over Lucilius and Varro, some over what has perished of Æschylus, but perhaps the greatest loss has been that of nearly all the Greek lyric poetry except the Odes of Pindar. Still we may console ourselves with the reflection that so much that has reached us came from the pens of the best writers, and that so much of what has survived is first-rate. No people, not even the Italian, has produced so large a body of poetry of the highest order as the Greeks did, except our own English or British stock. It is the union of the historical interest which the Greek republics inspire with the splendour of the literature they produced that gives to

both of them their unique charm. Works quite as great have been produced since. Modern literature is not only far wider in its range but richer in the variety of its content. It is dangerous to speak of ancient literature as a whole, for great is the diversity between the earliest Greek poets and the later writers, either Greek or Roman. But nearly all, as compared with the modern, have that special flavour and charm, and also that special value for this old and complex civilization of ours which the efforts of a joyous, vigorous, and sensitive race possess.

III. Just as the political ideas of Greece and the political institutions of Rome were a point of departure for the modern world, so Greek and Latin authors, and especially the poets, have become the common stock of the learned men, the thinkers and the writers, of all modern countries. They formed the mind of Europe from the fifteenth till the eighteenth century. Their ideas, their literary forms, their canons of taste, are the foundation of that general modern culture which educated men are still assumed to possess. No other literature, except the Bible and a very few of what may be called the classic books of Christianity, is in the same sense a link between different nations and has become equally the property of all.

These are some of the reasons which give its incomparable value and stimulative power to the history, and still more to the literature, of classical antiquity. It can never grow old, for it has the vivacity and

vitality of youth. Its ideas retain their charm, partly because they are simple, partly because they are expressed with unrivalled felicity. They light up the history of their times because the life and mind of the people speak so directly through them. This undying freshness gives them that strange quality of seeming at once so far off and so near, just as our own earliest boyhood often seems nearer to us than do the years of middle life because it has the vividness of first impressions.

Here, however, let me stop to answer an objection that will be made to the arguments I have been trying to present. "Assuming" — so the objector will say — "the value of ancient literature for historical purposes to be all that you represent, cannot that value be secured by reading the books in translations? Why take out of the few student years, already overcrowded by the claims of other and more obviously necessary studies, the time needed to master two languages which are confessedly of little practical utility to-day. Literature can be enjoyed in translations. The Germans who read Shakespeare in a translation appreciate him quite as much as we do, in fact some of them think he must have been a German. Goethe's criticisms on his plays are the best that have ever been made. We read and enjoy in English versions the Icelandic Sagas, and Don Quixote, and many another great work. The Bible itself formed the mind of mediæval Europe in a Latin version and thereafter formed the mind of post-mediæval Britain and America in an English

version, and that version is admittedly equal in beauty to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and superior to the Greek text of the New."

Our answer to this is that no translation gives, or comes near giving, the effect which the ancient classics produce when read in the original. The charm of that form is incommunicable, for the magic of words rests largely in their associations, and in what may be called the sympathy of sense and sound. The delicate fragrance of the ideas in their native form evaporates in the attempt to pour thought from the vessel of one language into that of another. This is especially true of poetry, and more true of philosophy, in which so much turns upon the use of precise terms, than it is of history or of oratory. In stating and arguing about facts, less depends upon the suggestive quality of the words and upon their rhythm than when feeling as well as reason is addressed, either in verse or in imaginative prose. To estimate exactly how much is lost in translation is not easy, because whoever having read a great book first in its original language reads it thereafter in a translation is so struck by the loss as to undervalue the latter: and it rarely happens that anyone who reads such a book first in a translation afterwards reads it in the original. Many of you may have had with Dante the experience which was mine, that little pleasure can be derived from any translation — and less from verse than from prose translations — and that the splendour and power of the poet are not realized till he

is studied in the difficult Italian of his time. A translation, if fairly literal, is of course better than nothing. But nobody can feel the true charm of the Greek writers, nor of Virgil, nor perhaps even of Lucretius and Catullus, except in the original. The original is the only door through which we can enter into the life and thought of the ancient world, near us because it is simple, yet mysterious because it is remote.

The teachings of the ancients are precious, although they come from afar, since we obtain from them a picture of a sphere of thought and emotion unlike our own, and therefore fitted to correct the narrowness which rests content in its own modernity, and which cannot feel after the future because it does not comprehend the variety of experiences that have moulded man in the past.

It is in this sense of a long and rich past and in the fuller and finer appreciation of poetic beauty which ancient literature gives that its true worth lies, not in grammar, not in quarries of etymological or philological enquiry, not in any professional uses to which scholarship can be turned. The practical use to be held out, the fair guerdon to be won, is Enjoyment, a unique kind of enjoyment. Sometimes one feels as if it were worth while to learn Greek merely in order to appreciate the melody and majesty of Homer. Think of such a line as this,

Οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τέ ἠχήεσσα,[1]

[1] Iliad, I, 157.

or of the infinite pathos of the words which tell the death of the youthful hero,

Ὣς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντα τέλος θανάτοιο κάλυψε.
Ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἀιδόσδε βεβήκει,
Ὃν πότμον γοόωσα, λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην.[1]

Or remember that other famous passage which ends with words that have fired the hearts and nerved the arms of a hundred generations of patriots,

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.[2]

Is it not worth while to have in the background of one's mind the vision of a far-off romantic world to which we can turn back in thought and feel refreshed as it refreshes us to descry, beyond the busy streets of a city, the blue peak of a distant mountain range.

You will not suppose me to be arguing that these studies, high as one may rate their value, are indispensable to one who would attain the best kind of culture or produce the best kind of literature. To genius nothing is indispensable. What others can absorb by training and study, the most gifted minds can achieve by their innate power:

Pauci, quos æquus amavit
Iupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Dis geniti, potuere.[3]

Some of our most brilliant writers, some of our strongest thinkers, have had little in the way of literary

[1] Iliad, XXII, 361. [2] Iliad, XII, 243. [3] Æneid, VI.

education. Yet even they might have gained from it something in fineness without losing anything in strength. Neither do I venture to suggest that you can expect any large number of young men to throw themselves into studies that seem so remote from the pursuits of practical life. Comparatively few will see any use in what they call dead languages, or will feel any taste for them. But some students you must have, and those not professors only. You must see to it that business is not the whole life of all American business men, but that room is made in the lives of some few of them for the enjoyments of ancient literature. The few are worth regarding, for it is always by the few best and most cultivated minds that traditions are preserved and taste is maintained at a high level. They tend and keep alive the sacred flame.

May it not be expected that the strain and stress of commercial and industrial life which now forces the American youth to sacrifice everything else to fitting himself for practical life, and leaves the American business man scarce any leisure for intellectual pleasures, will before long abate? A time will come when the development of the country's resources will have been completed and the opportunities for making huge fortunes will have become less frequent. If you can keep classical studies from further declining during the next fifty years, your battle will have been won.

ON THE WRITING AND TEACHING OF HISTORY

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AS CHANCELLOR OF UNION COLLEGE, SCHENECTADY, JUNE, 1911.

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NOWHERE in the world is the study of history pursued with more zeal and assiduity than in the universities and colleges of the United States. There must be many hundreds of professors and instructors engaged in teaching it, and many others are occupied in various branches of research work. It seems to be that one among the so-called "humanistic" subjects which attracts the largest number of students, a number probably much greater than that of those who are occupied with Greek and Latin. The methods of teaching it and writing it have, therefore, presented themselves to me as a fitting topic on which to address to you those remarks which you expect from one whom you have honoured by choosing him to be your Chancellor.

Eighty years ago there was no teaching of the subject in American universities and practically none in British. In Cambridge and in Oxford a professor was allotted to it, but of these two one seldom lectured, and the other not at all. In Scotland the universities

of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, and Aberdeen provided no historical teaching, while at Edinburgh there was a chair entitled that of Natural and Civil History, — you may smile at the title, but there is a connection between the two departments. Here in North America the old established college curriculum had no room for modern history and scarcely touched upon ancient. Now, both in British and in American universities, the study has laid a strong hold upon the interest of those who in growing numbers resort thither. Next to that educational revolution which has given to the sciences of nature their now predominant position in the University curriculum, no change has been more noteworthy. I may therefore safely assume that many of you have followed with interest the course of recent discussions as to how history should be taught and written.

Before I come to this topic, let me offer one remark. While admiring the untiring energy and patient care with which you teach American history and investigate all its details, and while desiring to express the gratitude of British scholars for what you have done and are doing for the history of England, I venture to submit that scarcely enough attention is given either here or in Britain to the history of the European Continent, and above all to ecclesiastical history, which is in a certain sense the central stream of all intellectual and social movement, from the early days of Christianity down to the eighteenth century, and

which reveals to us the working of so many of the chief forces that have not only affected politics, but moulded character and conduct among Christian nations. Asking you to consider at your leisure this one suggestion, I pass on to a subject which has doubtless already presented itself to your minds, for it has been much discussed both here and in Europe. It is this: What do we mean by the scientific treatment of history? And is history a science?

In its most elementary forms, history began in some countries, as in Egypt and among the Celtic peoples, with genealogies of chiefs and kings; in others, as among the Norsemen of Iceland, with tales of adventure describing the feats of famous men; and again in other countries, as in Europe during the Dark Ages, with entries in the rolls of monasteries of any events which appeared specially remarkable to the monk who acted as scribe. The picture records of Mexico, and the ballads in which the Pacific Islanders still recall the exploits of warriors of former days, would have been a basis for history had the art of writing been known, just as the Song of Deborah was an historical source for the early annals of Israel, and as the ballad of Chevy Chase would have been a similar source did we not possess more authentic records of the fight at Otterburn. But historical composition, as a distinct branch of literature, begins with the Greeks, and begins with two famous writers, contemporaries of the great Athenian dramatists and of the greatest among

Greek lyric poets. Herodotus and Thucydides were the models for the Roman historians from the second century B.C. onwards, and have been models for the civilized world ever since.

Different as these two masters were, so different that they have been taken as representing two dissimilar types of historical writing, they were alike in possessing literary gifts of a high order. In their hands History is fascinating as well as instructive. That character, as a branch of what used to be called "polite letters," History recovered in the days of the Renaissance, and in that character it was cultivated with special diligence in the eighteenth century both on the European continent and in Britain. It was written not so much for the sake of presenting an accurate record of what had happened, as with a view to the pleasure or the moral edification of the reader. All possible pains were taken to make it attractive in style. It was embellished with rhetorical ornaments and, especially in the hands of the less skilful artists, copiously interspersed with moral reflections. For thirty years after the outbreak of the French Revolution it was treated by English writers in what might be called a homiletic spirit, being used to warn men against the excesses of democracy. Though we had in Britain no man who could rank, in respect of learning and services he rendered to learning, with the Italian Muratori, we had great writers who added to the charms of a stately and impressive style wide knowledge and vigorous thought.

Such were Gibbon and Robertson, such, a generation later, was Henry Hallam. These men, while they never forgot that they were literary artists, felt themselves to be also bound to the utmost care in the collection and statement of their facts, and devoted — one sees the growth of the tendency in Hallam as compared with his predecessors — more and more care to the study of original authorities. Nevertheless the popular view that literary skill rather than special capacity or painstaking investigation was the quality which the historian needed was illustrated by the fact that so many of the most successful books were written by men who were litterateurs rather than historians. Hume, Smollet, and Goldsmith, a metaphysician, a novelist, and a dramatist, were the popular historians of their day. When, in the next generation, a history of Ireland was wanted for Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, it was committed to Tom Moore, the Irish poet, who brought patriotism and imagination and style, but little else, to a singularly difficult task. So even in Germany, Schiller, withdrawn from the service of poetry, wrote the history of the Thirty Years' War. The tradition that the historian must be eloquent lasted on for another half century. George Bancroft and even Motley marred the effect of their books by needless rhetoric. The thoroughness and ingenuity with which E. A. Freeman worked out the details of his *Norman Conquest* and his *History of Sicily* would have been more fully appreciated but for his

tendency to grandiloquence. The case of J. A. Froude, the last of the so-called literary historians, is not quite the same. The others whom I have just named were solid, hard-working, conscientious scholars; Froude was a brilliant stylist, who had begun his career as a writer of stories, and chose thereafter to display in the field of history his gift of picturesque narration. His ecclesiastical partisanship was usually evident enough to enable a reader to discount it. A graver fault was that superb indifference to truth which sometimes led him to regard the facts he had to deal with chiefly as so much material to be handled with a view to artistic effect, putting on them such colouring as was needed to secure the particular effect desired, and caring little for accuracy in details which did not move his curiosity.

A new spirit, however, had already been at work in France and Germany, and in the first quarter of the nineteenth century it had begun to show itself in Great Britain also. The same intellectual movement which had been producing discoveries in the field of physics and chemistry, and was soon to produce discoveries in those of geology and biology, revealed itself in the students of philology, economics, and history. The half century which covers Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Priestley and Saussure and Cuvier and Humboldt covers also the publication of F. A. Wolf's famous Prolegomena to Homer, a period in which new critical methods began to be applied by other scholars, as by Michaelis, to the

primitive literature and early records of other peoples also. Even earlier they had been applied by Beaufort to Roman history. Niebuhr in Germany and Guizot in France were in the nineteenth century among the first leaders of a new school who showed that they cared more for the substance than for the form of their historical writing, though both of them had the force and finish which belong to powerful minds, Niebuhr bold and brilliant in his suggestions, Guizot, lucid, acute, and delicate in his handling of details. The men of this school flung themselves into the investigation of the sources of history with an ardour and assiduity which in earlier days had been sometimes displayed by patient and leisurely workers like the Benedictines in France or the Magdeburg Centuriators in Germany, but seldom by persons in the front rank either of teachers or of writers known to the world at large. Strict critical methods now began to be generally applied to the original contemporaneous authorities. Public and private archives and collections of books or documents were ransacked for new materials. Manuscripts were collated, edited, published in such a series as that of the *Recueil des Historiens* in France or that of the *Monumenta Historiæ Germanica* in Germany. All the old views were reëxamined; many old fables or misconceptions were exploded. For the loose phrases and flowing periods of the school of "literary historians" there was substituted an exact and precise setting forth of what

could be ascertained from the sources, showing how much was certain, how much doubtful, and how far different sources agreed with or contradicted one another. In the earlier stages of the movement the more daring spirits attempted to reconstruct the more distant and darker periods of history from data which we should now think too slender, and the tendency during the last thirty years has been to discourage efforts to rewrite the annals of a people in the light of any theory, however plausible, and to be content with setting out all that can be known, leaving the student to make the best of it. Ranke and Mommsen are, in respect of their immense productive power and massive learning, the most illustrious representatives of this school, but in our language, we may point to William Stubbs, to E. A. Freeman, to Francis Parkman, to Samuel R. Gardiner, and to F. W. Maitland as instances of the way in which scholars writing in English have absorbed and exemplified its methods.

It is sometimes said that this change in the way of handling history is due to the influence of the sciences of nature upon the minds of all classes of educated men. Doubtless the rapid advance of those sciences through the application of their exact experimental methods has helped to strengthen among all kinds of investigators a sense of the importance of precision, accuracy, and caution in inference. Nevertheless it will be seen, if the progress of the humanistic studies is carefully examined, that the new tendencies which have

come to pervade the latter are not a result of the advance of the physical sciences, but rather part of a parallel and independent though cognate change in the intellectual tendencies and habits of mankind. The beginning of a critical examination of ancient documents may be found in Spinoza, who was a contemporary of the group of Englishmen that founded the Royal Society. The employment of exact methods in historical investigation was visible in modern Europe almost as soon as was the adoption of experimental methods in physical science. Nor was this critically exact spirit a wholly new thing. One sees it emerging from time to time in superior minds as far back as Thucydides and Aristotle.

Not only in Germany, France, and Italy, but also in Britain and the United States the best men had been writing history in a genuinely scientific way before the term "scientific history" began to be used as a technical expression somewhere about the year 1880. If that term be taken to denote the systematic application of strict tests to evidence and a single-minded devotion to the ascertainment and the statement of truth, and nothing but the truth, then all will agree that it is an entirely laudable ideal, and that whoever gives us a history which is scientific in this sense, whatever else he gives or fails to give, renders a real service.

The term seems, however, to be taken as connoting some negative as well as some positive qualities. The

"scientific" historian must, it seems to be supposed, renounce all literary graces and aim at dryness. His style is to be plain and bald. Not only ornament, but anything which can rouse emotion or appeal to imagination is to be eschewed, for that way danger lies. Romantic incidents and dramatic scenes are to be excluded, or told in a business-like or even prosaic way, lest the reader be diverted from the succession of more important events; nor are any moral judgments to be pronounced.

Our distinguished English authority, the late Professor Seeley, himself a writer of singular force, with a power of making his points tell which the most accomplished forensic advocate might have envied, went so far as to declare that in order to be scientifically valuable, history must be dull or dry.

Considered as a reaction against the habit of treating history as a part of polite letters, against the superabundant rhetoric of Bancroft and the picturesque carelessness of Froude, this view was a legitimate reaction. It suited the practical and business-like spirit of our time, and has been generally accepted by the present generation. The truth of the facts is no doubt far more important than any of the embellishments which literary skill can add to a narrative, and if the embellishments begin to be seductive, cast them away. Excellent opportunities for working on these lines were afforded by such large coöperative undertakings as the *Dictionary of National Biography*

and the *Cambridge Modern History*, for as in these compression was of the first importance, ornament was very properly discarded. I remember how at a public dinner given to celebrate the completion of the former book, one speaker, deservedly popular among the literary figures of London, delighted the audience by observing that the maxim of the editors of that stupendous work had been, "No flowers, by request."

The precept that style need not be regarded has the advantage of being easy to follow, easier than most of the counsels of asceticism. If the road into the gardens of historic truth leads through the realm of dulness, all may traverse the first part of it. We can all of us be heavy, or slipshod, or merely level and monotonous. And doubtless it is better to be tedious and monotonous and dreary almost up to the verge of unreadability than that our facts should be wrong or that such of them as are right should be smothered under festoons of florid verbiage. A somewhat tedious history like Guicciardini's, or a level and rather arid one like Lingard's, is serviceable in spite of its tameness. But aridity raises no presumption of accuracy. There is no necessary or natural connection between the two things, and accuracy may be just as well combined with animation. The things that have actually happened are as interesting as the things that might have happened, but did not, just as picturesque, just as well fitted to touch imagination and appeal to sentiment. That some writers have, in their desire to produce

literary effect, forgotten that their first devotion was due to truth, is a reason not for despising literary effect, but for relegating it to the second place.

There are instances enough more recent than those of Gibbon and Robertson, already noted, not to speak of Thomas Carlyle, to show that there is no incompatibility between scientific and literary treatment. Macaulay's amazing force and brilliance have drawn, and continue to draw, thousands of people to his pages who would have been attracted by no one with a less fascinating style. But though his eminence and pronounced political views exposed him in his lifetime to a captiously minute and rather niggling criticism, his work has, take it all in all, stood the test of time as an authority. Lord Acton, one of the most accurate as well as the most learned of recent English historians, though sometimes obscure from the very pregnancy of his thought, lit up his narrative with epigrammatic wisdom, and, more rarely, with descriptions of concentrated glow. The style of Henry C. Lea, the most learned as well as among the most accurate of recent American historical writers, though no doubt always plain and level, is always agreeable, because he knew how to select from the vast material at his command what was most illuminative. He has always something interesting to tell, and he tells it with lucid simplicity. Francis Parkman's laborious researches did not wither the freshness of his mind. John Richard Green, though sometimes heedless in

small things, was in essential matters a sound and trustworthy writer, against whom few serious errors have ever been proved, yet his Short History of England is confessedly as fascinating as any novel.

Thucydides himself, the greatest of them all, the model of exactness and thoroughness in his treatment of the events of his time, Thucydides has given us narrative passages like that describing the retreat of the Athenian army from Syracuse, where every sentence is charged with dramatic force, and reflective passages which stir the depths of thought now as they did twenty-four centuries ago. There is no ornament in his writing, but there is not a dull page.

May not our friends of the neo-scientific school — those whom Walter Scott and after him Carlyle would have called the Dryasdusts — sometimes forget that history has to be written not only for historical students who bring their interest with them, so that the dry bones are all they need, but also for those who bring no such special interest, and who will be repelled by an unattractive treatment of the theme? That a knowledge of the past should be more generally diffused through the whole community, that the past should be made to live as something real in their minds, that it should help to form their tastes and enlarge their horizons, is an object worth working for. Anything can be made dull or lively by the way in which it is told, and history more easily than most subjects,

because there are no difficulties of technical terminology to overcome.

When we pronounce a book of history dull, why do we find it so? Is it not because the leading characters are not individualized, because the salient facts are not brought into due relief, because the dramatic situations are missed, because the style does not rise or fall in sympathy with the significance of the events and their emotions they evoke? The avoidance of these defects, so far from injuring the truth and precision of a record, will make it more vivid and more readily remembered by the special student as well as the lay reader.

Another school has arisen of late years which also claims the name of Scientific, and its pretensions have made so much noise both in Europe and here as to require some consideration. This school seeks to raise, or reduce, history to the level of an exact science like those which deal with various departments of physical enquiry. Conceiving that only through attaining an exactitude like theirs can history have any real value, it ignores the individual, it regards the course of human affairs as determined by general laws which govern the action of men associated in communities, much as the so-called "laws of nature" govern the inanimate and animate external world. From a study of racial characteristics, intellectual tendencies, and the play of economic interests, this school believes itself able to discover such laws, and it expounds them in elaborate

formulæ, purporting to sum up the past, to explain the present, to predict (perhaps less positively) the future.

The objection to this method and procedure as we see it practised by the votaries of this school is that it is not scientific. Nothing accords less with scientific principles than to treat as similar things essentially dissimilar. Now the phenomena of human society which history deals with are altogether unlike the phenomena of external nature, indeed, so unlike as to suggest that the methods fit for the one can hardly be fit for the other, or at any rate cannot promise like results. Oxygen and hydrogen behave in the same way in all countries. Their properties were, so far as we know, the same ten thousand years ago as they are now, and are apparently the same here on our earth as they are in the sun and the other stars. But the features of human society are wholly different in different races and different countries. Even in the same countries they were a thousand years ago unlike what they are now. Their study is for this and other reasons incomparably more difficult than is the study of natural phenomena. No scrutiny we can apply to them can possibly be exhaustive, nor can those methods of counting, measuring and weighing by which exactitude is secured in chemistry and physics be employed. Most observers are prone, since they cannot possibly exhaust the facts, to fix their attention on, and give prominence to, those facts which happen to fit in with their preconceived notions, and

use them to support the broad generalizations they seek to draw. Many a man, when he has gone a little way into a subject, thinks it easy to sum up in a generalization the facts he sees. No habit is more seductive. But it is a dangerous habit, because ample knowledge and an experience that engenders caution are needed to recognize the pitfalls that lie round the enquirer's path. So one may say that the longer a man studies either a given country or a given period, the fewer, the more cautious, and the more carefully limited and guarded in statement will his generalizations be.

Some fifty years ago the late Mr. H. T. Buckle published a book entitled a *History of Civilization*. Its vigorous style and bold generalizations gave it popularity at the time. But though Buckle had read widely and done a good deal of thinking, his knowledge was altogether insufficient to qualify him for the task he was attempting, and he had not been trained to apply adequate criticism to the authorities he used. There were in the book some true things forcibly stated and fitted to stimulate reflection, but it made no really important contribution to knowledge; and some of his generalizations, as for instance the well-known parallel between Scotland and Spain, were ludicrous. Of most of the other writers who have followed in the same path much the same may be said. The foundations have been weak, so the structures of ambitious theory raised upon them have been flimsy and unstable. These writers have seldom

realized the extreme complexity of the data to be dealt with, the number of the hidden forces at work, the variability of human beings under different conditions, the important part played by individual men whose appearance has disturbed all calculations and overthrown all predictions.

Suppose that a philosopher had in the middle of the second century of our era addressed himself to the task of writing a history of civilization and moral progress. He would have had nearly nine centuries of tolerably authentic history behind him, a period as long as that which separates us from Pope Gregory the Seventh and William the Conqueror, and he might have pleased himself by drawing out and dedicating to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, as a monarch of philosophic tastes, a generalized statement of the laws governing human development which, being proved from an observation of the past, would evidently continue to determine human progress in the centuries to come. The materials might have seemed abundant, and the interpretation of the causes of progress a simple matter. But our philosopher would have left out of account the two factors which were destined to have most influence on that progress, — Christianity, which the Emperor was trying to repress as a dangerous secret society, and the barbarian foes of civilization with whom he was warring on the Danube.

The more recent writers of this school — its Coryphæus was the late Mr. Herbert Spencer, but it has

representatives in Continental Europe also — have not (so far as I know) contributed to history either any sound theories, or any illuminative suggestions which competent historians did not know already, and did not know better, because they were known as the result of a wide and critical mastery of details. What the school has given is a mass of general propositions couched in what sounds like scientific language, but the contents and substance of which are either threadbare truths so dressed up in solemn phraseology as to appear to be novelties, or theories too vague and abstract to be serviceable either as interpretations or as summaries of the facts. Sometimes the propositions are not true as stated, *i.e.* they contain a germ of truth, but are misleading unless many qualifications be added. This faith in phrases and formulæ is an instance of that recurring propensity of the human mind to impose upon facts in general its own notions drawn from a few facts hastily gathered, — notions which gain authority from being clothed in elaborate pseudo-technical terminology. It was a like propensity which in the Middle Ages retarded the progress of the sciences of nature by embodying crude conceptions of phenomena in terms and theories to which there was nothing corresponding in reality, as when men talked about "phlogiston" and "animal spirits" and thought they had explained things by saying that "nature abhors a vacuum."

Mr. Spencer was a most painstaking and earnest thinker, and the efforts of his school to impress upon their contemporaries the value of an arrangement and synthesis of knowledge deserve all recognition. Of what services the school has rendered to subjects other than history I will not venture to speak, but as respects the results attained in history and subjects cognate thereto, the view I have tried to convey to you is, I believe, that pretty generally held by historical students both here and in England. Perhaps the disappointment one feels in perusing books where one seeks for bread and seems to receive only stones may perhaps bias those of us who were trained in another school. Judge therefore for yourselves and see if you can extract new and profitable truths where we have not been able to discover them.

Needless to say that every historical scholar recognizes that there are certain general principles to be applied to the investigation of human society and to the elucidation of the forces by which the institutions and arts of life have advanced, and reognizes also that though the movement which has made history more scientific had an independent origin, the historian may profit by a knowledge of the methods employed in the sciences of nature. In the first place there is to be studied Human Nature itself, which presents certain fundamental qualities and habits present in all more or less civilized communities, quali-

ties whose existence we may everywhere assume as social factors. These factors are in their outlines familiar to us all. They have been dwelt upon by philosophers and historians from Plato downwards. They do furnish a basis for what may be called a general treatment of political and social institutions, but it is only a basis, because the phenomena differ so much according to race and environment that the general propositions we can lay down as positive and practically certain are but few.

Secondly, there are certain general tendencies which can be traced through the annals of mankind, certain lines along which human progress has moved. To discover and trace and illustrate these is the province of what is usually called the Philosophy of History, a subject with which some famous writers have dealt, beginning with the Arab Ibn Khaldun, and coming down through the Italian Vico to the German Hegel. There is no branch of historical enquiry that better deserves your thoughts. But it is more modest in its pretensions than is the school of Buckle and Spencer, for it does not attempt to lay down general propositions about all men and all communities, but only to explain the past by showing what were the most potent forces and tendencies at work, and how the growth of the human mind expressed itself in the moulding and perfecting of institutions.

The facts which History presents chronologically may also be treated as materials for a systematic

study of any special branch of human activity, just as the events in the annals of the Greeks recorded by Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and others may be used for a treatise, like that of Aristotle, concerning Greek politics. History may hand over the phenomena she records to be made the basis of books on political science, or economic science, or what is called Sociology, in which the phenomena are arranged and analyzed, and are so correlated and explained as to enable us to draw from them general conclusions. But the materials belong to History. It is she that has gathered them. It is to her that he who would handle them systematically must go in order to know the authenticity and the value of each part of them.

Let me try to sum up as follows what I have sought to convey to you.

There is no incompatibility between the scientific treatment and the literary treatment of history. Undue attention to the latter will tend to make a writer less accurate and thorough in investigation, just as complete absorption in the investigation of facts will tend to make his presentation of the facts less attractive. But there is nothing to-day, any more than in bygone days, to prevent him from being both a careful investigator and an agreeable writer. As between Lingard and Froude, choose Lingard, but the combination of qualities which you have in Macaulay or Green or Parkman or Lea is better than either. No historians were more accurate and exact than Ranke

and Mommsen, but every page in the writings of both has a literary quality.

There is no incompatibility between the use of critical methods and a careful study of details on the one hand and a grasp of broad general principles on the other. Rather is it true that the man who knows the details best is also the fittest to educe and explain the general principles. Many a student can master the details who cannot expound the principles, but the man of wide grasp is always the better for knowing the details also, for in them lies Reality.

That which is misleading and unfruitful is the tendency to disjoin the mastery of details from the so-called "sociological" study of general principles, *i.e.* to think you can have the latter without the former. To re-create any period of the Past for our own minds, to understand it as it was, unlike what went before it, unlike what came after it, — this is the chief aim of history, and for this purpose one must study not only the masses of men but also individual men, their ideas and beliefs, their enjoyments and aspirations. Especially important is it for any one who would explain the course of events that he should understand those individuals who by force of thought or will dominated their own time and turned the course of events. Not only has the study of striking figures the greatest fascination for the ordinary reader as well as the student, it has also an importance for the comprehension of events which the Buckle and Spencer

school do not seem to realize. The individual doubtless counts for less to-day in most countries than he did in either the republics or the monarchies of the past. But if you wish to realize how much he still counts for, think of how different Europe would have been to-day had there been no Napoleon Bonaparte, no Mazzini, no Cavour, no Bismarck; or what it would have meant in your Revolutionary War if Clive, who died in 1774, had lived to lead the troops of George the Third and there had been no Washington to oppose him, or how different the course of events in the Civil War if Seward instead of Lincoln had been nominated at Chicago for the Presidency.

The writer or teacher of history begins by a critical investigation of the facts. This is science, and one of the most difficult branches of science. When you have ascertained the facts so far as ascertainable, try to connect them and arrange them in the order of their importance and educe general conclusions from them. This also is science. Then set them forth in the best order and the best words you can find. This is literature. Literary skill crowns the work, and makes it more useful because it makes the work spread farther, and better accomplish its end. But it is worthless if the two other processes have not gone before.

For the highest kind of historical work four gifts are needed; unwearied diligence in investigation, a penetrating judgment which can fasten on the more

essential points, an imagination which can vivify the past, and that power over language which we call Style. So the greatest historians have been those who combined a wide sweep of vision with a thorough mastery of details, and who have known how to set forth both the details and the principles in a way which makes them enrich the reader's thought, touch his emotions, and live in his memory.

SOME HINTS ON READING

ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS OF RUTGERS (FORMERLY QUEEN'S) COLLEGE, NEW JERSEY, OCTOBER, 1911.

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IT has been often said that books do for us to-day what universities did in earlier ages. The knowledge that could five centuries ago have been obtained only from the lips of a teacher, can now be gathered from the printed page. Nevertheless, since it is only the most active and most diligent and most discerning minds that can dispense with the help and guidance of teachers to show them what to read and how to read, universities and colleges are scarcely less useful if not quite so indispensable to-day as they were before the invention of printing. It is, therefore, not unfitting that in your college I should be asked to talk to you about books, the way to choose them, and the way to draw most profit from them. The very abundance of books in our days — a stupefying and terrifying abundance — has made it more important to know how to choose promptly and judiciously among them if one is not to spend as much time in the mere choice as in the use. Here you have the help of your professors. But here you are only beginning the process of education which will go on during the rest of your life. By far the

largest part of that process will, after you have left college, consist in your independent reading, so the sooner you form habits of choice and methods of use, the better.

The first piece of advice I will venture to give you is this: Read only the best books. There are plenty of them, far more than you will ever find time to read, and when they are to be had it is a pity to waste time on any others.

You may ask what I mean by the Best books. Passing by for the moment those which in each of the great world-languages we call its classics, for to these we shall return presently, I mean by the Best those from which you receive most, and can carry most away, in the form either of knowledge or of stimulation. When you want to learn something about a subject, do not fall upon the first book which you have heard named or which professes by its title to deal with that subject. Consult your teacher, or any well-read friend, or the librarian of the nearest public library. (One of the greatest services public libraries render is that they provide librarians usually competent, and I believe always willing, to advise those who apply to them.) Be content with nothing less than the very best you can get. Time will be saved in the end.

There is no waste more pitiable than that so often seen when some zealous student has, for want of guidance, spent weeks or months of toil in trying to

obtain from a second- or third-rate book what he might have found sooner and better in a first-rate one. So try to read only what is good. And by "good" you will not suppose me to mean what used to be called "improving books," books written in a sort of Sunday School spirit for the moral benefit of the reader. A book may be excellent in its ethical tone, and full of solid information, and yet be unprofitable, that is to say, dull, heavy, uninspiring, wearisome. Contrariwise, a book is good when it is bright and fresh, when it rouses and enlivens the mind, when it provides materials on which the mind can pleasurably work, when it leaves the reader not only knowing more but better able to use the knowledge he has received from it.

Seventy years ago people, or at least those who used then to be called the preceptors of youth, talked as if there lay a certain virtue in dry books, or at any rate a moral merit in the process of plodding through them. It was a dismal mistake, which inflicted upon youth many a dreary hour. The dull book is not better than the lively book. Other things being equal, it is worse, because it requires more expenditure of effort to master such of its contents as are worth remembering. If the edge of the tool is blunt, one must put forth more strength, and as there is never too much strength, none of it should be wasted. It may be asked, "But is not the mental discipline wholesome?" Yes, effort crowned with victory is a fine thing, but since there is plenty of

such discipline to be had from the better books why go to the worse books for it?

Sometimes it happens that what you want to learn cannot be had except from dry or even from dull treatises. Dryness and dulness are not the same thing, for the former quality may be due to the nature of the subject, but the latter is the fault of the author. Well, if there is no other book to be found, you must make the best of the dry and even of the dull. But first make quite sure that there are none better to be had, for though in many a subject the really satisfactory book has not yet been written, still in most subjects there is a large choice between the better and the worse.

Every book ought to be so composed as to be capable of being read with enjoyment by those who bring interest and capacity to it. One cannot be playfully various and graphically picturesque upon every kind of subject. Once, in a distant British colony, a friend of mine was asked by a person who knew that he came from the University of Oxford, "What do you think of Euclid?" My friend replied that Euclid's "Elements of Geometry"—if that was what the question referred to—was a valuable treatise, whose reputation had been established for many centuries. "Yes," said the questioner, "but what do you think of Euclid's style?" My friend answered that he had always thought more about the substance than about the style of Euclid, but would be glad to know his questioner's opinion. "Well," said the latter, "I consider it quite a good

style, but too systematic." Eloquence, variety, and wit are not the particular merits we look for in a scientific treatise, but however dry geometry or any other subject may appear, there is all the difference between a book which is well arranged and well expressed, a book which takes a grip of the mind and affords the pleasure of following out a line of logical thought, and a book which tumbles out facts and ideas in a confused and shapeless heap.

To you undergraduates life now seems a long vista with infinite possibilities. But, if you love learning, you will soon find that life is altogether too short for reading half the good books from which you would like to cull knowledge. Let not an hour of it be wasted on third-rate or second-rate stuff if first-rate stuff can be had. Goethe once said of some one he knew, "He is a dull man. If he were a book, I would not read him." When you find that a book is poor, and does not give you even the bare facts you are in search of, waste no more time upon it.

The immensity of the field of reading suggests another question. Ought a man to read widely, trying to keep abreast of the progress of knowledge and thought in the world at large, or is it better that he should confine himself to a very few subjects, and to proceed not discursively but upon some regular system?

Each alternative has its advantages, but considering how rapidly knowledge is extending itself in all direc-

tions, and how every branch of it is becoming specialized, we must recognize that the range of attainment possible three or even two centuries ago is now unattainable even by the most powerful and most industrious minds. To-day the choice lies between superficiality in a larger, and some approach to thoroughness in a smaller, number of topics. Between these alternatives there can be no doubt as to your choice. Every man ought to be thorough in at least one thing, ought to know what exactness and accuracy mean, ought to be capable by his mastery of some one topic of having an opinion that is genuinely his own. So my advice to you would be to direct your reading chiefly to a few subjects, in one at least of which you may hope to make yourself proficient, and as regards other subjects, to be content with doing what you can to follow the general march of knowledge. You will find it hard — indeed impossible — to follow that march in the physical sciences, unless you start with some special knowledge of one or more of them. Many of the branches into which they have been diverging are now so specialized that the ordinary reader can hardly comprehend the technical terms which modern treatises employ. But as respects travel and history and biography, and similarly as respects economics, the so-called "sociological subjects," art, and literary criticism, it is possible for a man who husbands his time and spends little of it on newspapers or magazines, to find leisure for the really striking books that are

published on some of these topics which lie outside his special tastes. Do not, however, attempt to cover even the striking books on all of such topics. You will only dissipate your forces. Now and then a book appears which everybody ought to read, no matter how far it lies out of his range of study. It may be a brilliant poem. It may be a treatise throwing new light on some current question of home or foreign politics, about which every citizen, because he is a citizen, ought to try to have an opinion. It may be the record of some startling discovery in the realms of archæology, for instance, or in some branch of natural science. But such books are rare; and in particular the epoch-making scientific discoveries are seldom known at the time when the world first hears of them to be really epoch-making.

Two questions may, however, have presented themselves to you. One is this: Are there not some indispensable books which everyone is bound to read on pain of being deemed to be not an educated man? Certainly there are. Every language has its classics which those who speak the language ought to have read as part of a liberal education. In our own tongue we have, say, a score of great authors — it would be easy to add another dozen, but I wish to be moderate and put the number as low as possible — of whose works every one of us is bound to have read enough to enable him to appreciate the author's peculiar quality. These of course you must read, though not necessarily

all or nearly all they have written. Spenser, for instance, is an English classic, but even so voracious a reader as Macaulay admitted that few could be expected to persevere to the end of the "Faery Queene." Even smaller is the percentage of Dryden's works which a man may feel bound to read. Do not look for an opinion as to the percentage in the case of Robert Browning. The sooner you begin to read those who belong to this score, the better, for most of them are poets, and youth is the season in which to learn to love poetry. If you do not care for it then, you will hardly do so later.

The other question is, What about fiction? I can just recall an austere time, more than sixty years ago, when in Britain not a few moralists and educators were disposed to ban novel-reading altogether to young people and to treat it even among their elders as an indulgence almost as dangerous as the use of cards, dice, and tobacco. Exceptions, however, were made even by the sternest of these authorities. I recollect that one of them gave his imprimatur to two stories by an estimable Scottish authoress—now long forgotten—named Miss Brunton. These tales were entitled "Discipline" and "Self-Control," and a perusal of them was well fitted to discourage the young reader from indulging any further his taste for imaginative literature. Permitted fiction being scanty, I did attack "Self-Control," and just got through it, but "Discipline" was too much for me. Fiction is

far more read now; being abundant and cheaper, since it comes in the form of magazines as well as in books. But we have no Dickens, no Thackeray, no Hawthorne, no George Eliot.

Need anything more be said about fiction than that we should deal with it just as we should with other kinds of literature? Read the best; that is to say, read that from which you can carry away something that enlarges the range of your knowledge and sets your mind working. A good story, be it a historical romance or a picture of contemporary social conditions, gives something that is worth remembering. It may be a striking type of character, or a view of life and the influences that mould life, presented in a dramatic form. Or perhaps the tale portrays the aspects of society and manners in some other country, or is made a vehicle for an analysis of the heart and for reflections that illuminate some of the dark corners of human nature. Whichever of them it be that a powerful piece of fiction gives, the result is something more than mere transient amusement. Knowledge is increased. Thought is set in motion. New images rise before us. It is an enrichment of the mind to have erected within it a gallery of characters, the creation of imaginative minds, characters who become as real to us as the famous characters of history, to some of us possibly more real. In them we see the universal traits of human nature and learn to know ourselves and those around us better, we comprehend the

common temptations and aspirations, the mixture of motives, the way in which Fortune plays with men. We share the possession of this gallery with other educated men. It is a part of the common stock of the world's wealth.

The danger of becoming so fond of fiction as to care for no other sort of reading, a malady from which some men and more women are said to suffer, will threaten nobody who has formed the habit of reading the kind of fiction I am trying to describe, because he will enjoy no other kind. A boy or girl can usually read any sort of tale be it better or worse written. The story is enough for him. As he grows older and has read more and more of the best writers, his taste becomes more cultivated and exacting. While faults repel him more, merits attract him more, because he has become more capable of appreciation. At last a poor quality of fiction which is merely commonplace, handling threadbare themes in a hackneyed way, the sort of fiction into which no inventive or reflective thought has gone, comes to bore him. He can no longer read it, because it is too dull or too vapid.

Prose fiction, in its higher forms, cultivates the imagination almost as well as history does, but poetry does this better than either. The pleasures of the imagination are among the highest we can enjoy. Unless, therefore, any one of you is so unlucky as to find no delight in poetry, it will always form a part of your reading. Not much of the highest order has

been appearing in these later days in any country, but there is such an abundance from former days that you will never want for plenty to read and no modern language possesses so much poetry of first-rate merit as does our own.

It seems a pity that the old practice of learning a good deal of poetry by heart should be now falling into disuse, for it stored the mind in the early years of life with fine thoughts in fine words and helped to form a taste for style, seeing that style can rise to greater heights of perfection in poetry than in any kind of prose. As to what to read in poetry, there is no need in our day to warn any one against reading too much, and there is little to say about choice, for you will naturally be drawn first to the great and famous classics in our own and other tongues, and they will so form your taste that you will know how to choose among other verse writers. In particular do not omit those few great writers who have attained to a distinctive way of looking at the world as a whole (what the Germans call a Weltanschaung), those in whose minds and works human nature in all its varieties, human life in all its aspects, is mirrored. The author, or authors, of the Homeric poems is the earliest example: Goethe is one of the latest, and not all are poets, for Cervantes is among them.

A man who does not care for those whom the judgment of the world has approved, may conclude that the fault is with himself. But it is not always the

greatest writers that give the most pleasure. Most of us have some two or three poets not classed in the first rank, perhaps writers whose fame has always been limited, to whom we frequently return because they express thoughts in a way which makes a special appeal to our own minds. Look out for these also, and cherish them when you have found them.

Though divers wise and learned men have drawn up lists of what they describe as the Best Hundred Books, it may be doubted whether such lists have any use beyond that of indicating the preferences of their eminent compilers and the use also of recalling to the notice of the modern public some remarkable works which it had nearly forgotten. The truth is that the excellence of a book is not absolute, *i.e.* the same for all readers alike, but rather is relative to the knowledge and capacities and environment of the particular reader. Many a book of first-rate value to a person prepared by education and special talents to appreciate it is useless to others not so prepared. A more really interesting enquiry is, What are the books that have made most difference to the progress of the world? Such books are a part, and a significant part, of world-history, yet some of them would interest comparatively few readers to-day.

The question of how much time should be devoted to the classics of other countries than our own is too large a one for me to enter on. Enough to say that whoever knows Latin or Greek or Italian or French or

German or Spanish or Icelandic, will not need to be told that he ought to be just as anxious to know the masterpieces in those languages as those in his own. The ancient classics in particular give something which no modern literature supplies.

From considering What to read, let us go on to consider How to read. Here my advice to you would be, Read with a purpose. Bend your mind upon the book. Read it so as to get out of it the best it has to give you. You may accept this advice as applicable to what is read for information, but may think it superfluous if the book is a story or other work read for amusement, because presumably no one will persevere with such a book unless it interests him. Yet even where the aim is amusement and the book a work of fiction one man may, if he read it in the right way, extract more benefit as well as more pleasure than another would do. If the story is worth reading, it is so because it not only appeals to our curiosity, but also because it pleasurably stirs our thought.

With other kinds of literature, with science or philosophy or history or economics, the worth of the book is to be measured by what you can carry away from it, and that depends mainly on the spirit in which you read. The book, as already observed, must have quality enough to stimulate thought, to give you what is called a mental reaction. But however good the quality, the reaction will not follow unless you address your mind to the subject.

The purpose must be either to get something — whether facts or ideas — which you can add to your store of knowledge or else to receive a stimulus which will quicken your own powers of thinking and feeling. These two benefits usually go together. It is not the quantity of reading that counts, but the quantity and the intensity of thought that are evoked. Nothing is gained by skimming over hundreds or thousands of pages of print unless something remains from the process. So if after having honestly applied your intellect to a book you do not find anything you care to carry away, drop it. Either it is not worth further effort, or it may be outside the range of your appreciation.

You will not, however, fancy that all the books you may have to consult deserve careful study. If thoroughness is a virtue to be cultivated, still more is time a thing to be saved. The old maxim, "Whatever is worth doing is worth doing well," is less true than it seems, and has led many people into a lamentable waste of time. Many things are worth doing if you can do them passably well with a little time and effort, which are not worth doing thoroughly if so to do them requires much time and effort.

Time is the measure of everything in life, and every kind of work ought to be adjusted to it. One of the commonest mistakes we all make is spending ourselves on things whose value is below the value of the time they require. Many a book may be worth reading rapidly so as to extract from it the few important

facts it contains, and yet be by no means worth a prolonged study. Economize time in reading as in everything else. The adage that Time is Money falls far short of the truth. Time is worth more than money because by its judicious employment more enjoyment can be secured than money can purchase.

One of the less fortunate results of the large amount of matter which the printing-press turns out in our time is the tendency it has bred to read everything hastily and unthinkingly. The man who glances through several newspapers in the morning and two or three magazines in the evening forms the habit of inattention, or, more correctly, half attention. He reads with no intention of remembering anything except what directly and urgently bears upon his own business, and when in the scanty leisure which business and the practice of reading newspapers and magazines leave him, he takes up a book, this habit of half attention prevents him from applying his mind to what he reads. Instead of stimulating thought, constant reading of this kind deadens it, and the quantity of reading and the quantity of thinking are apt to be in inverse ratio to one another. To say, "Don't read without thinking," might be deemed to be that useless thing, a Counsel of Perfection; but I may say, "Beware of the Reading Habit." It is one of the curses of our age. What is wanted to-day is less printing and less reading, but more thinking. Reading is easy, and thinking is hard work, but the one is useless without the other.

You may ask what is the best way of trying so to read books as to be able to retain the best they give us. If the book be one you wish to know with absolute thoroughness, as students at Oxford University were in my time expected to know Aristotle's *Ethics* and the history of Thucydides for our degree examination, you will find it a good plan to read over every day all that you read the day before. At first this is irksome, but it fixes things in your mind and is a saving in the long run. Everybody has his own devices for recording what he deems best in what he reads, but I can recommend that of making very short notes, or references, on the fly leaf (or leaves) at the end and beginning of a volume of the most important facts or views it contains, noting the page on which each occurs, so that one can refer promptly to the things which struck one at the time. Where a work is either of exceptional merit for its fertility in suggestion, or is specially rich in out-of-the-way facts, it may be worth while to bind in additional fly leaves. Should the book be not one's own but borrowed from a friend or a library, one must of course make the notes or references in a Ms. note-book, and in that case, since the treatise will not be at hand to refer to, it becomes necessary to make a somewhat fuller abstract of the facts it is desired to remember. The advantage of either method is that the process of compressing the fact or view into the fewest possible words helps to fix it in the memory. I remember cases in which eight or ten entries represented

the total results of reading a book of four hundred octavo pages, yet those entries might serve to make some dark things clear.

The late Lord Acton, the most learned man I ever knew, was in the habit of copying out on slips of paper passages or sentences which he thought valuable from all the volumes he perused. He had hundreds of cardboard boxes filled with these slips, the boxes being labelled with the titles of their subjects; and he seemed to know how to lay his hand upon any extract he wanted. Few, however, could hope to bring leisure and industry like his to the accumulation of such a mass of knowledge; and he spent so much time in the process of gathering the opinions of others that he had little left for using them or for giving the world the fruit of his own thoughts, often far better worth having than that which he had plucked from other orchards.

There are those who keep note-books in which they enter the most remarkable facts or aphorisms or statements of doctrine and opinion which they encounter in the course of their reading. For persons fortunate enough to have formed methodical habits this may be a good plan.

Ought reading to be systematic? Should a man lay down a scheme and confine himself to one or more subjects in which he can become proficient rather than spread himself out in superficial sciolism over a large number?

For many of us Life answers this question by requiring attention to be devoted primarily to books which bear upon our occupation or are connected with it. For others again pronounced tastes point out certain lines of reading as those in which they will find most pleasure. Yet there is also a third class whom neither their avocations nor any marked personal preferences guide in any particular direction. My advice to these would be: If you have not got a definite taste, try to acquire one. Find some pursuit or line of study which you can relish, and give to it most of your spare time. It will be a constant spring of pleasure, an occupation in solitude, a distraction from worries, even a consolation in misfortune, to have something unconnected with one's daily work to which one can turn for change and refreshment of spirit. Some branch of natural history, or some one of the physical sciences, is perhaps the best for this purpose, but any branch of history or archæology or art (including, as one of the very best, music) will serve. When one has such a pursuit or taste, it naturally becomes the central line which a man's reading follows. In advising a concentration of study upon some few topics, I do not suggest that you should cease to interest yourselves in the general movements of the world. Everyone ought to try to keep abreast of his time, so far at least as not to be ignorant of the great advances that are being made. Of most of these you will not be able to know much, but the more you can know, the better, so long

as you do not scatter and dissipate your efforts in such wise as to become a mere smatterer.

There is a maxim which, like that other venerable dictum already referred to, sounds good but has often done harm. (A book might be written with the title *Moral Maxims and the Mischief they Do.*) You all remember the lines:

> A little learning is a dangerous thing;
> Drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring.

With all respect to the poet, this is by no means true. A little learning is not dangerous so long as you know that it is little. Danger begins with thinking you know much more than you do. It is not knowledge, be it great or small, but the conceit of knowledge, that misleads men: and the best remedy against this is not ignorance, but the knowing some one thing really well. Thoroughness in one subject enables a man to recognize his scantiness of attainment in other subjects, not to add that to have learnt any one thing well helps him in dealing with whatever else he touches, since he learns to discern more quickly what is essential, and to make sure that his knowledge, even if it remains elementary, is not merely superficial.

Do not be surprised if after advising you to read thoroughly I also advise you to learn to read swiftly. There is no inconsistency, for thoroughness depends not so much on the time spent on a piece of work as upon the intensity wherewith the mind is concentrated

upon it. One man will read a book in half as many hours as another, and yet know more of what is in the book; and this because of his superior power of turning upon it the full stream of his mental energy. Only exceptional minds possess this gift in high measure, as did Macaulay, who read a book so swiftly that he seemed to turn the pages almost without pausing, taking in at one glance all that was in them, and yet carrying away all that was worth remembering. But you can cultivate the gift by practice, and it deserves cultivating, for it means better results with less time spent.

The counsel of swift reading is, of course, applicable only to books which are read chiefly for their facts or their views, not to those whose merit lies largely in their style. It would be folly to gallop through Virgil or Keats or Charles Lamb or Heinrich Heine or Chateaubriand. Not in poetry only must one move deliberately, but also in reading fine and finished prose, where every word has its fitting place in the sentence, and its due effect in calling up subtle associations and in touching, however delicately, the spring of emotion.

Finally, let me suggest that you read with independence. There are various spirits in which a book may be approached. One must not be captious, hunting out mistakes or blemishes. But neither must one submissively assume that the author is always right. No author, however great, is exempt from

error. True it is that modesty is always in order, and deference due to writers of established credit. We must take them as likely to be wiser than we are. Nevertheless, if you wish to profit by your reading, do not forget to scrutinize each argument as it is presented, each inference drawn, each maxim delivered, to see if it be justified by the facts. Sound criticism seeks rather to discover and appreciate merits than to note faults; but however ready we may be to admire, we must test our author as we go along, and make sure that the view we accept from him is formed not because he has given it but because he has convinced us that it is correct. As your forefathers said that perpetual vigilance is the price of freedom, so you may say that it is also the price of learning. In a free country every citizen is responsible for the formation of his opinions, and must take them neither from newspapers nor from platform speeches. So in the domain of knowledge a man will lose half the benefit of his study if he reads in a passively receptive way, neglecting to apply his own judgment. Often he will not be able to test his author. Often when he differs from his author the author will be right, and he wrong in venturing to differ. Nevertheless, such error is better than an indolent acquiescence which brings to bear no independent thought.

To say this is to repeat in different words the remark that the reading which counts is the reading which, in making a man think, stirs and exercises and polishes

the edge of his mind. The end of study is not to possess knowledge as a man possesses the coins in his purse, but to make knowledge a part of ourselves, that is, to turn knowledge into thought, as the food we eat is turned into the life-giving and nerve-nourishing blood. It is to have a mind so stored and equipped that it shall be to each man, as to the imprisoned sage, his kingdom, of which no one can deprive him. When you have begun by forming the habit of thinking as you read, and exercising your own judgment freely, though modestly, you will find your footing grow firmer and surer as you advance, and will before long know for yourselves what to read and how to read. Life has few greater pleasures.

NATIONAL PARKS — THE NEED OF THE FUTURE

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, NOVEMBER 20, 1912, THE HON. WALTER L. FISHER, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, PRESIDING.

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HAVING come here for the first time forty-two years ago, I have known the United States long enough to feel just as much interested in all those questions that relate to your welfare, in city and in country, as if I were one of your own citizens, and I hope you will allow me to speak to you with that freedom which you would allow to one of your citizens. In discussing a subject so far removed from politics or any other controversial field as is that which occupies you this evening, I need not feel those limitations which an official position would otherwise impose.

There is one thing better even than that City Beautiful to which previous speakers have referred, and that is the Country Beautiful. Before there were cities there was a Country. It holds for us greater and more varied beauties than a city can, and it contains more that appeals to our imagination, and is associated with the sweet recollections of childhood.

Let me say something about the need for preserving rural beauty.

I have had in England some experience in dealing with the questions you are discussing, having been for some years chairman of a society for preserving commons and open spaces and public rights of way, and having also served on the committee of another society for securing to the public places of national and historic interest. Thus I was led often to think of what is our duty to the future, and of the benefits which the preservation of places of natural beauty may confer on the community. That is a problem which presents itself, not only in Great Britain, but all over Europe, and now you in America are tending to become what Europe already is. Europe is now a populous, almost overcrowded, continent. You will some day be a populous and ultimately, perhaps, except in those regions which the want of rain condemns to sterility, a crowded continent, and it is well to take thought at once, before the days of overcrowding confront you, how you will deal with the difficulties which have met us in Europe, so that you may learn as much as possible from our experience, and not find too late that the beauty and primitive simplicity of nature have been snatched from you by private individuals.

I need not descant upon that which the love of nature is, or at least ought to be, to each and all of us. Of all those pleasures, the power to enjoy which has been

implanted in us, the love of nature is the very simplest and best. It is the most easily accessible, it is one which can never be perverted, it is one of which (as the old darky said about the watermelon) you cannot have too much. It lasts from youth to age. We cannot enjoy it in the form of strenuous physical exercise with the same fulness in old age, because our powers of walking, swimming, and climbing are not the same, but we have an ampler and richer enjoyment in some other ways, because we have the memories and associations of the past and especially of those in whose company we have in bygone days visited beautiful scenes. And there are also the literary associations with which poetry clothes many a wild or lovely spot. The farther a people recedes from barbarism, the more refined are its tastes, the more gentle its manners, the less sordid its aims, so much the greater is its susceptibility to every form of beauty, so much the more do the charms of nature appeal to it. Delight in them is a test of civilization.

As the love of nature is happily increasing among us, it becomes all the more important to find means for safeguarding nature. Population is also increasing, and thus the number of people who desire to enjoy nature is growing larger both absolutely and in proportion to the whole. But, unfortunately, the opportunities for enjoyment, except as regards easier locomotion, are not increasing. The world is circumscribed, and we feel the narrowness of it more and

more as all its corners are explored and surveyed. The surface of this little earth of ours is indeed sadly limited, and we cannot add to it. When a man finds his house too small, he builds more rooms on to it, but we cannot add to our earth; we did not make it, it was made for us, and we cannot by taking thought increase its dimensions. All that can be done is turn it to the best possible account.

Now, let us remember that the quantity of natural beauty in the world, that is to say, the regions and spots calculated to give enjoyment in the highest form, are limited, and are being constantly encroached upon. This encroachment takes four forms. There is the desire of private persons to appropriate beautiful scenery to themselves by enclosing it in private grounds and debarring the public from access to it. We in England and Scotland have lost some of the most beautiful scenery we possess because it has been taken into private estates. There is the habit of excluding people even from land uncultivated and remote from houses for the sake of "sport." A great deal of the finest scenery in Scotland is now practically unapproachable by the pedestrian or the artist or the naturalist because rich people have appropriated it to their own self-regarding purposes and insist on excluding the public. This is especially the case where the motive for exclusion is what is called sport. Sport is understood to mean killing God's creatures for man's amusement, and for the sake of this amusement—the killing of deer and

birds, an amusement which gives pleasure only to a handful of men — very large areas in Britain (and some few also in other parts of Europe) have been within the last sixty or seventy years closed against all the rest of the nation.

The enjoyment of natural beauty is further threatened by the operations of the lumberman. He is a force we do not have to fear in Britain, because timber no longer exists there in sufficient quantity to be an article of economic value to us, but it is a very serious question here. You have prodigious and magnificent forests; there are perhaps no others in the world comparable for extent and splendor with those you possess. These forests, especially those on the Cascade range and the Sierra Nevada, are now being cut down rapidly and ruthlessly. You cannot blame the men who are cutting and selling the timber; timber is needed, and they want to drive their trade, but the process goes on too fast, and much of the charm of nature is lost, while the interests of the future are forgotten. Superb woods of the huge *Sequoia gigantea*, the so-called Big Trees, were falling under the axe in the southern part of the Sierra Nevada in 1909, and it would take a thousand years to replace these giants. The same thing is happening in the Appalachian ranges in New England and in the Alleghanies southward from Pennsylvania, a country of great sylvan beauty. In many places, after the trees have been cut off, there is left an inextricable tangle of small boughs and twigs,

so that when a dry year comes any spark will start a fire, and the fire rages among the dead boughs, and the land is so scorched that for many long years no great trees will rise to replace those that were destroyed.

Note also that in recent years water power has, since scientific discoveries enabled it to be applied in the form of electricity, become an asset of great commercial value. You fortunately have an enormous supply of water power. No one will deny that a great deal of it, perhaps most of it, may be properly used for industrial purposes, but neither can it be doubted that it has been used in some places to the detriment, and even to the ruin, of scenery. It has been used at Niagara, for instance, to such an extent as to change completely the character of what was once the most beautiful waterfall landscape in the whole world. Those of you who did not see that landscape, as I did, forty-two years ago, with the long line of clear green water plunging over the precipice, the foaming splendour of the rapids above, and the tossing billows of the Whirlpool Gorge below, and so cannot contrast what is seen now with what was seen in those days, cannot know what a wretched shadow of its former self it has become — not so much by the diminution of the flow of the river as by the hideous erections which line the shores and by the smoke from many a chimney that pollutes the air. It is not too late to repair what has been done, and I hope the day will come when the pristine flow of its waters will be restored, and when

the devastating agencies will have been removed. That we will leave for a future generation which will have begun to appreciate scenery more highly than men did thirty years ago, when the ruin of which I speak was just beginning. One may say of the enterprising capitalists who have made fortunes out of this national possession what the Emperor Charles the Fifth said to the ecclesiastics of Cordova who had turned the central part of the great Mosque into a church. "You have destroyed something that was absolutely unique in the world in order to do something which could have been equally well done anywhere else."

Taking all these causes together, you can see how many encroachments there are upon the unique beauty of your country; and I beg you to consider that, although the United States is vast and has mountain and forest regions far more extensive than we can boast in little countries like England or Scotland, even your scenery is not inexhaustible, and, with your great population and the growing desire to enjoy the beauties of nature, you have not any more than you need. Fortunately, you have made a good beginning in the work of conservation. You have led the world in the creation of National Parks. I have seen three or four of these, the Yosemite twice, the Yellowstone twice, and the splendid forest region which you have around that mountain which the people of Seattle now insist on calling Mount Rainier, — no doubt the name originally given by Vancouver, — but which used, when I wan-

dered through its forests and traversed its glaciers, thirty years ago, to be called by the more sonorous Indian name, Tacoma. And there is also that superb reserve on the north side of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado River, as well as Glacier Park in Montana and others of minor extent in other parts of the country. The creation of such National Parks has not only been good for you, but has had the admirable effect of setting other countries to emulate your example. Australia and New Zealand have followed that example. New Zealand, in the district of its hot springs and geysers, has dedicated to the public a scenic area something similar to your Yellowstone Park geyser region, though not on so extensive a scale; the people of New South Wales have set off three beautiful National Parks within forty miles of the capital city of Sydney, taking mountain and forest regions of exquisite beauty and keeping them for a source of delight to the growing population of that city. Thus your example is bearing good fruit. I only wish it had come sooner to us in England and Scotland before we had permitted the control of so much of our own best scenery to pass into private ownership.

One of the things your Association has to care for is not only the provision of more parks, but also the methods to be followed for keeping the existing parks in the best condition. I heard the other day that a question has been raised as to whether automobiles should be admitted in the Yosemite Valley. May a word be

permitted on that subject? If Adam had known what harm the serpent was going to work, he would have tried to prevent him from finding lodgment in Eden; and if you stop to realize what the result of the automobile will be in that wonderful, that incomparable valley, you will keep it out. The one drawback to enjoyment of the Yosemite Valley in the summer and autumn is the dust. The granite rock becomes in the roads fine sand; even under existing conditions the feet of the horses and the wheels of the vehicles raise a great deal of it, enough to interfere with enjoyment as one drives or walks; but the conditions would become grievously worse with the swift automobile. And, further, the automobile would destroy what may be called the sentimental charm of the landscape. It is not merely that dust clouds would fill the air and coat the foliage, but the whole feeling of the spontaneity and freshness of primitive nature would be marred by this modern invention, with its din and whir and odious smell. Remember, moreover, that one cannot really enjoy fine scenery when travelling at a rate of fifteen to twenty or twenty-five miles an hour. If you want to enjoy the beauty of such landscapes as the Yosemite presents, you must see them slowly. Fine scenery is seen best of all in walking, when one can stop at any moment and enjoy any special point of view, but it is also agreeably seen in riding or driving, because in moving at a pace of five or six miles an hour you are not going too fast to take in the minor beauties of

the landscape. But travelling faster than that — and my experience is that chauffeurs so delight in speed that it is hard to get them to slacken even when you bid them — you cannot enjoy the beauty. It was often my duty in the British Parliament to oppose bills conferring powers to build railways through some of the beautiful lake and valley scenery, — scenery on a much smaller scale than that of this Continent, but quite as beautiful, which we possess in Britain. The advocates of the bills urged that passengers could look out at the landscape from the windows of the railroad car. But we pointed out that it is impossible to get the full enjoyment of a romantic landscape from a railway window, especially where the beauties are delicate and the scale small. It is different where scenery is on a vast scale, so that the railway is insignificant in comparison, and the objects, rocks or mountains or rivers, are huge. There one may get some pleasure from the big views even as seen from a train, though they are far better seen in walking or driving, but you cannot enjoy the small beauties either of form or of colour. The focus is always changing, and it is impossible to give that kind of enjoyment which a painter, or any devotee of nature, seeks if you are hurrying past at a swift automobile pace. Whoever loves fine scenery has a sort of feeling that he is wasting it when he passes through it on a train instead of on foot or driving in an open vehicle.

It will of course be said that the automobile might

be allowed to come up to the principal hotels and go no farther. If it is allowed to go so far as that, it will soon be allowed to go wherever else there is a road to bear it. Do not let the serpent enter Eden at all. Our friends who possess automobiles are numerous, wealthy, and powerful, but as all the rest of the North American Continent is open to them they are not gravely injured when one valley, besides parts of Mount Desert Island, is reserved for those who walk or ride. It is no intolerable hardship to be required to forgo in one spot a convenience which none of us had twenty years ago and which the great majority of our fellow-creatures cannot afford to pay for now. At present the railway comes to an end some twelve miles away from the entrance of the Yosemite Park, and the drive up to it behind horses gives far more pleasure than a journey by rail or motor car possibly could. There are plenty of roads elsewhere for the lovers of speed and noise, without intruding on these few places where the wood nymphs and the water nymphs ought to be allowed to remain in untroubled seclusion, and their true worshippers to have the landscape to themselves.

Let me pay a tribute to the taste and judgment with which, as it seemed to me when I visited the valley in 1909, the park and the hotels in the Yosemite were being managed. There were no offensive signs, no advertisements of medicines, no other external disfigurements to excite horror, and the inns were all

of moderate size, plain but sufficiently comfortable and not more than two stories high. I earnestly hope that the administration will always be continued on these lines, with this same regard for landscape beauty.

Now, a word about additional parks. Although you have set a wholesome example in creating those I have mentioned and some others, there are still other places where National Parks are wanted. There is a splendid region in the Alleghanies, a region of beautiful forests, where the tulip trees lift their tall, smooth shafts and graceful heads one hundred and fifty feet or more into the air, a mountain land on the borders of North Carolina and East Tennessee, with romantic river valleys and hills clothed with luxuriant woods, primitive forests standing as they stood before the white man drove the Indians away, high lawns filled with flowers and traversed by sparkling brooks, containing everything to delight the heart of the lover of nature. It would be a fine thing to have a tract of three or four hundred thousand acres set apart here for the benefit of the people of the South and Middle Atlantic States, for whom it is a far cry to the Rockies. Then you ought to have one or two additional parks in Colorado and Montana also. As regards the Northeast Atlantic States, what seems to be most wanted is to preserve the forests of the White and Green Mountains. Perhaps it is not necessary to set apart in that country a National Park in the same sense as that which might be thought

requisite in the Alleghanies, because the mountains are so high and rocky, and so little ground is suitable for cultivation on the steeper slopes, that it is not likely they will be inclosed, and probably hardly necessary that a public authority should step in to save them. But in some parts of the White Mountains, for instance, it would be an excellent thing to create large forest reserves, where the trees should be under protection of the National or State Government, being cut by them as required, and the forests replanted as they are cut. Recent legislation has already made a beginning with this good work. The sale of the timber would more than cover the costs of management and the interest on the purchase money. In this way you would keep a place where the beauty of the woodlands would remain for all generations, and where they would be so cared for that the present danger of forest fires would be averted.

There is one question that comes very near to you in Baltimore, and also to us in Washington, on which I would like to speak a word. You know there is a great deal of charming forest country between Baltimore and Washington. A good deal of it is forest of the second growth, some few small bits of it are of the first growth; but even that of the second contains a great number of beautiful, fine-grown trees. The land is of no considerable value, and I believe it could now be purchased at a low price. I have heard it suggested that thirty-six dollars an acre would be an aver-

age price for the land, on which a great quantity of timber remains. Having frequently taken walking excursions from Washington into the country from ten to fifteen or twenty miles around the city, I have been struck with the beauty and profusion of the wild flowers. The flora of that region, being a sort of blend of the flora of the North Atlantic States with some of the plants and flowers which belong to the South Atlantic region, is of great interest to the scientific botanist. Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington are all swiftly growing cities. What could be done better for the inhabitants of these three cities than to secure for their enjoyment a large part of this forest land and set it apart, forever free from private purposes or use of agriculture, and keep it as a forest reserve, to be managed scientifically, so that it should pay for the expense of working it by the timber which could be cut and sold on well-planned scientific lines, and should afford a place where people could go and wander about at their own sweet will, just as the old settlers did when they first came here? Here the automobile would do no harm on the main roads, because there would be plenty of byways and forest footpaths. If the automobilist wants to be whirled along the roads, let him have his way, but keep wide sylvan spaces where those who seek quiet and the sense of communing with nature can go out in the early morning from the city and spend a whole day enjoying one spot after another where nature has provided her

simple joys, mingled shade and sunlight falling on the long vistas of the forest, the ripple and the murmur of a streamlet, the rustling of the leaves, and the birds singing among the branches. These gifts can here be offered to the man condemned to spend most of his life in cities, and when nature has provided them in such bountiful measure ought not the opportunity to be taken to secure them?

Shall we who make these plans be accused of treating this subject in a sentimental way? Well, I confess these arguments are not addressed to those who think that man lives by bread alone, or who recognize no values except those measured by dollars and cents. It is because the members of this Association are not of that mind that such considerations are submitted. A century hence there will be in North America, if things go on as they are going on now, far more people, far more lovers of nature, and also fewer places in which nature can be enjoyed.

Now let me try to give some logical quality to these rambling reflections by submitting a few propositions in order.

The world seems likely to last a long, long time, and we ought to make provision for the future.

The population of the world is increasing rapidly, and most rapidly in North America.

The taste for natural beauty is also increasing, and, as we hope, will continue to increase.

The places of scenic beauty do not increase, but, on

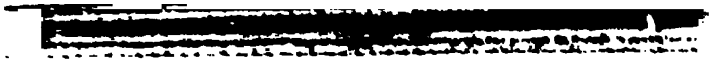
the contrary, are in danger of being reduced in number and diminished in quantity. This is due chiefly to the accumulation of wealth. Forests are cut down, water power is appropriated, rich men buy up tracts of land and frequently seek to exclude the public from them. Accordingly, no better service can be rendered to the masses of the people than to preserve for their delight wide spaces of fine scenery.

We must carefully guard what we have got, and must extend the policy which you have wisely adopted in creating your existing National Parks, by acquiring and preserving further areas for the perpetual enjoyment of the people.

Let us think of the future. We are trustees for the future. We are not here for ourselves alone. All these gifts were not given to us to be used by one generation, or with the thought of one generation only before our minds. We are the heirs of those who have gone before, and charged with the duty we owe to those who come after, and there is no duty which seems more clearly incumbent on us than that of handing on to them undiminished opportunities and facilities for the enjoyment of some of the best gifts that the Creator has bestowed upon his children.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

ADDRESS TO THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, DECEMBER 14, 1912.



THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

ADDRESS TO THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, DECEMBER 14, 1912.

IT is a real pleasure to be the guest of The Pennsylvania Society. Every student of history must be profoundly interested in the annals of the State of Pennsylvania, not merely in respect of its famous founder, one of the most remarkable Englishmen of the seventeenth century, but also because it is in a sense typical of this whole country. Your State is remarkable for having been from very early days the seat of three different elements of population which have gradually become blent, yet not so blent as to lose traces of their former diversity. Three sets of colonists long ago entered and settled down in and made the prosperity and greatness of Pennsylvania in its formative years, just as in days far later many different races came hither across the sea and added themselves to the original Anglo-Saxon population who had been the first settlers of this eastern coast of North America. Here in Pennsylvania you had the English Quakers, then the Germans, who came in a little later, many of them also pious men belonging to various German

sects, and, lastly, the Scotch-Irish, people very unlike the other two, except in their being also pious, though in a quite different way. The Quakers and the Germans fulfilled the dictum that the meek shall inherit the earth, because they took up and retained all the best lands. The Scotch-Irish, who came last, were obliged to content themselves with the mountains and the Indians, and they braced themselves to deal with both. They developed a manly, bold, pugnacious type of pioneer and frontiersman, and they have retained the old character in your western hills just like their relatives in the northeastern parts of Ireland. Plenty of the old combative spirit in both regions. They had a lively time in early Pennsylvania, for these three sections were divided not only by political feelings and by agricultural rivalries, but also by religious and ecclesiastical differences. In those days divergences of doctrine cut pretty deep and roused far more feeling than they would to-day, even in the pacific breasts of members of the Society of Friends. An occasion is recorded on which a Quaker went so far that he was with difficulty restrained from discharging a gun, which unluckily happened to be in his hands, into the body of a Presbyterian, having apparently been incensed by an intimation on the part of the Calvinist that predestination was going to give that particular Quaker no prospect of felicity in the world to come.

I must, however, pass away from the State of Penn-

sylvania and its fortunes, to the subject allotted to me — the Constitution of the United States; a small subject indeed, is it not? and easy to deal with in the few minutes at my command.

Let me begin by one remark, about which there will be no difference of opinion: It was a most extraordinary body of men that gathered together one hundred and twenty-five years ago to frame the Constitution of the United States. Never did such a group of brilliant and powerful intellects, men trained by an experience of affairs, assemble together for so great an undertaking as the framing of the Constitution for a nation. And the best proof of the success which attended their efforts is to be found in the fact that the Constitution which they framed for a nation that then only a little exceeded 3,000,000 people has been found now to fit the needs of 93,000,000. It may not fit those needs perfectly, but it is extraordinary that it should fit them at all.

In that group there were three men, Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton, whose fame belongs to the history of the world, and one of those three, Benjamin Franklin, came as a delegate from the State of Pennsylvania. Among the others, eminent men, even if they did not attain unto those first three, one of the most eminent came also as a delegate from the State of Pennsylvania. I mean James Wilson; a Scotsman from Fife who had few equals and possibly no superior in that Convention, as respects either the acuteness

of his mind, or his penetration and sagacity; a man to whom some of the best features of the Constitution were due, and who, by his speeches in your Pennsylvania convention held to consider the draft prepared by the Convention, added an illuminating commentary upon many provisions of the Constitution, and no doubt contributed materially to its adoption, both in your State and in the other States of the Union.

Now, I am under certain restraints here. I remember a time in England when young Liberal orators used to glorify the British Constitution as "the paragon of the world," "the perfection of human wisdom," nor did the other party abound any less in praise, for each party claimed that the Constitution embodied its own distinctive principles. So here too both parties and both sections of the country vied in their admiration of your Constitution, for both insisted that the venerable instrument, if correctly interpreted, supported its own tenets. But in England those pæans of praise are now seldom heard; and here in America the Constitution seems to be drifting down the stream of time into the neighbourhood of the icebergs of controversy. Accordingly I must not allow myself to approach any questions which are becoming issues between parties. I cannot leap over the wire fence which incloses the representative of another country and, like my distinguished friend, the Attorney-General, prance and gallop far and wide in the open plains of politics. From any discussion of whether and how the Constitution ought

to be amended, I must refrain, but I am free to speak of what it has been in the past, and may examine the working of certain usages that have grown up under it which neither party is concerned to defend or to attack and which are now exposing it to unmerited censure.

The whole history of your country since 1789 has been a commentary upon the services rendered by the Constitution. The greatest of all the services it could render and did render, was the spirit which it implanted in the hearts of your people. Perhaps I ought not to say "implanted," for the spirit was already there, and the function of the Constitution was to confirm and develop it. Your ancestors brought from England the principle of deference for law, and the sentiment which desired to unite Liberty with Order, but that spirit was immensely strengthened and its roots deepened by the provisions of the Constitution, which combined, as no instrument had ever done before, a respect for the settled rule of law, with a recognition of the sovereignty of the people. It showed how the popular will can express itself through prescribed forms, with such due regard for and observance of legal methods as to avoid the dangers of sudden impulses and hasty action, while also in such a way as ultimately to give complete effect to the sober and deliberate purpose of the people.

Some critics, both here and in Europe, have made it a reproach against the Constitution that it did not avert the War of Secession, and others have gone so

far as to suggest that its failing to either recognize or deny the right of a State or States to secede was itself a proximate cause of the war by giving each party an arguable legal case. To this criticism the answer is that if such a provision had been placed in the Constitution there might probably never have been any Constitution at all. Whether any legal instrument could have prevented a split and a conflict where economic differences were so marked, where each section of the nation misunderstood the other, and where passion had in one of them risen to white heat, may well be doubted. Legal forms may do much, but cannot do everything. So far as we can now judge, there was only one thing would have enabled the South and the North to hold together, and that thing was unattainable. It has probably struck some of you that had the United States remained in political connection with the mother country, there would have been no Civil War. South and North fought because there was no one to mediate between and try to reconcile them. Had they been part of a British nation there might have been — indeed, would almost certainly have been — mediation. The question of slavery, if indeed slavery had been still in existence, would no doubt have been a question for themselves to settle, for long before 1861 they would have been enjoying a self-government at least as large as Canada and Australia now enjoy under the British flag. But as members of one British people, both North and South would have been kept in union as

parts of a larger whole, and the influence of the rest of the British people at home would have been sufficient to soften antagonisms and bring about a peaceable solution.

The Constitution could not avert the Civil War, but it maintained the ideal of national unity all through the Civil War, and it enabled the wounds which the war had made to be subsequently healed with a rapidity and completeness which amazed the world. During and for some time after the Civil War it rendered a service such as no legal instrument had ever rendered to a people before. You had enormous difficulties then. The difficulties during the war, when it was all that the President could do to avoid putting a strain on the Constitution, were hardly more alarming than those that came later in that sad and troublous period of reconstruction through which your Southern brothers passed. The situation would have been almost hopeless but for the fact that the Constitution laid down the lines upon which each Southern State should be ultimately restored to self-government and again take its place as a self-governing member of the Union. When Reconstruction was over, and when, in and after 1877, more normal relations were reëstablished in the South, the Constitution again became a rallying point for the patriotic sentiment of the whole people and for their devotion to the principles which had originally made it strong and your nation great. Your National unity, never so conspicuous or so firmly entrenched as

it is to-day, is largely due to the fact that you all have revered and trusted and walked by your now venerable Constitution.

True it is that all constitutions must needs be susceptible of such amendments or developments as are needed to adapt them to the changing circumstances which time brings with them. As Bacon says, "That which man changeth not for the better Time changeth for the worse." But you will also observe that all constitutions, and all systems of free governments everywhere, require something to steady them. Now, we in England, who have no documentary constitution placed above the other laws of the country, where every arrangement of the government can be at any moment changed by the power of the people acting through their representatives in Parliament, we in England have steadying forces in the existence of long traditions, and of powerful classes who have held great influence throughout the whole nation. In France there has been and is a steadying influence in the existence of a large number of small landed proprietors attached to the rights of property. In Germany a similar influence may be found, not only in the presence of a strong monarchy and of a landholding class which has commanded the deference of the people for centuries, but also in an exceedingly able and highly trained civil service, which administers public affairs. You in this country have neither the social classes of Continental Europe

nor have you the power of a civil service like that of Germany. But as you also need some steadying element, you have found it in the respect for your Constitution. It has made your traditions. It has been revered as a sort of palladium of ordered liberty. Whatever changes you now think fit to make in your Constitution you will, I am sure, never forget that ballast as well as sails are needed if a ship is to pursue with safety her course over seas that are sometimes stormy.

There are, as you all know, two chief parts or branches of the Federal Constitution — that which creates the system of National Government, with its three departments, and that which defines the relation of the National Government to the governments and people of the States. Of these two the former part, which establishes the frame of National Government, has been criticized, and in some points unfavourably, both by your own statesmen and by foreign observers, much more than has the latter part, which determines the relations between the National Government and the States. Now let me ask you to note that these criticisms upon the practical working of the frame of national government are really in the main criticisms not of the Constitution itself but of usages which have grown up under it but are no part of it and could be changed at any moment by Congress or by the action of the people themselves.

One of the complaints most frequently heard is that

members of Congress have been tending to become too much mere local delegates, rather than members of the great council of the Nation, and that they are so active in furthering the interest each of his own constituency and his own State, that they think too little, and care too little, for the general interests of the whole people, though it is itself more than ever One People. If the facts are as these censors assert, — and you can judge better than I whether the censors are right, — what is the cause? Not any provision of the Constitution but the habit which has prevailed and prevails to-day, of confining the choice of a member of Congress to persons resident in the particular Congressional district, and the habit which the people of the district have formed of expecting Congress to appropriate money for local purposes. Such usages are no parts of democracy, for there are other democratic countries in which they do not prevail. They inevitably tend to narrow a member's views as well as his activities, and they prevent an able man who by some turn of the political tide has lost his seat in the place where he resides from obtaining a seat elsewhere. Nearly all your own leading men, as well as foreign observers, think that you lose immensely by the exclusion from Congress of so many of your strongest intellects, and they regret the persistence of the habit. Take the case of such a statesman, eminent both by his talents and by the purity and elevation of his character, as the late Mr. Carl Schurz, who after he left Missouri to settle in New York City could

never find entrance to Congress. In Britain, more democratic in most respects than this country, nearly all the eminent statesmen of the last sixty years have represented constituencies in which they did not reside, and represented them quite as efficiently as residents could have done. This is common in Australia also, a country more democratic than either the United States or Great Britain.

Another feature of the present working of your National Government which I have heard constantly criticized by thoughtful American statesmen is that the separation of the legislative and executive departments has been carried too far by the custom which does not allow the ministers of the President access to the floor of Congress to speak and to be interrogated there. Now this custom has grown up independently of the Constitution. It is not a part of the Constitution, and Congress has therefore the power at any time to alter if it should think fit. Foreign observers who are accustomed to the methods of the free countries of Europe think that you are sacrificing a valuable means of bringing your legislative and your executive authorities into a natural and easy and constant harmony by your forbidding them to come together in the way I have mentioned. They are allowed so to come together in Switzerland. Switzerland has a federal constitution like yours. Switzerland, like you, does not permit the members of the Administration, which there consists of a body of

seven persons called the Federal Council, to be elected to and sit in either House of its federal legislature; but it permits them and encourages them to be present in either House, and when I have been attending the debates of the federal legislature in Switzerland I have seen the members of the Federal Council, sometimes in the one House, sometimes in the other, interrogated by members upon questions relating to the administration of their departments, answering those questions, giving the fullest information upon every executive act done or perhaps even contemplated by them, and at the same time addressing the members of the legislature upon the measures that were pending there, stating their views, telling them what was wanted, in the way of money or otherwise, to increase the efficiency of the several executive departments, and answering any objections which the members of the legislature could advance. No Swiss doubts that such a plan is for the good of Switzerland. The Swiss Government, take it all in all, seems to be the most successful and one of the most stable among the democratic governments of the world, and could not possibly work as smoothly and successfully as it does work but for this practice — and, as you know, the plan of admitting Cabinet Ministers to speak in Congress has been recommended by many of your own statesmen, as, for instance, by President Garfield.

Any proposal for the admission of Cabinet Ministers to the floor of either House, to be questioned there

and to speak there, well deserves to be considered as a possible improvement in the conduct of business by Congress. To suggest that the Constitution itself ought to be so altered as to permit ministers to be elected to and vote in Congress would be quite another matter, for it would raise different and far wider issues. It would mean a change in your whole scheme of government. Our English system — what we call our Cabinet and Parliamentary System — is no doubt a far more prompt and a far more effective way of bringing the will of the people to bear upon the government than your system is here. As I have already observed, we in Great Britain are in reality far more of a democracy than you are. The will of the people declared in an election of the members of the House of Commons, is able to act more quickly, more promptly, with a more tremendous and compelling force, in Britain than it can here. We do not have your checks and balances. But it may well be doubted whether the British system, however it may work with us, would be a safe one for a country so vast and varied in its parts as yours. There is, however, every reason to think that Congress itself would find a great advantage in having the Ministers of the President before it on the floor, so that it could address questions to them, as ministers are daily questioned in our Parliament. British ministers are obliged to tell Parliament everything that is being done in the course of our administration which it is not inconsistent with the public

service to disclose. They must answer all questions put to them about what they are doing, and how they are doing it, and why they are doing it. It is good for them. Like other ministers, I have, when a member of the British cabinet, sometimes found the process tiresome. But I never doubted that it was a good thing for everybody concerned. Ministers are all the better for having to stand that ordeal. You here would soon find the benefit of it. Every minister would feel it to be an advantage and a help to him in his work if he were able, when his departmental experience has shown him that some measure is urgently needed, to come to Congress and argue the matter out with either House on its own floor and tell them, not by written words, but by the spoken word, which is far more effective, why he thinks the measure is needed and what are the arguments by which he would support it. And you can all see how much Congress would gain by the more thorough knowledge of the workings and the needs of the departments which it would gain.

Others conceive that the special functions of the Senate or perhaps the machinery by which these functions are exercised, require to be reconsidered in view of the fact that when they were assigned to it the Senate had only twenty-six members, whereas it has now ninety-six. If anything of that kind needs to be done, it could probably be done without altering the Constitution, just as a usage which had come to be recognized by common consent as being one of the

greatest evils in the working of the National Government was dealt with. I refer to the Spoils System. That system arose outside the Constitution. It has been now much reduced and indeed seems likely to be soon expunged by measures requiring no change in the Constitution. So also that scheme of national nominating conventions, which now seems likely to be superseded by a system of nominating primaries, arose altogether outside the Constitution, and had never even any statutory character.

As regards the other part of your Constitution, that which concerns the relations of the States with the National Government, you may rest happy in the thought that it has received the almost unqualified admiration of the whole world. I will not say that there may not be minor points in which it is susceptible of improvement. Probably there are some directions in which the progress of time has made it desirable to expand a little the legislative authority of Congress. Many have argued, for instance, in favour of extending that authority to the establishment of a uniform law of marriage and divorce. Others would extend the range of federal authority over railroads, and would recognize in the National Government a much longer power of creating and supervising corporations. Others have indicated the need for some more prompt and effective method than now exists of securing the due observance by each and every State of treaty obligations undertaken by the National Government. There

may be points in which the State authorities themselves could be induced to desire that it should be more easy to pass uniform legislation for the whole country.

Still, looking at the general federal scheme in a broad way, can anything be more clear, can anything be more rational in theory or more convenient in application to practice than the general principles by which the relations of the States and the National Government have been fixed and determined? The principles are as clear, as philosophically conceived, and as precisely expressed as it is possible for the human intellect to have conceived and expressed them, and they have been worked out by your successive Administrations, by Congress, and most of all by your Judicial Bench, with an infinite and admirable delicacy in detail. The best testimony to the excellence of your system is to be found in the influence that it has had upon other countries. It is an interesting fact that your Constitution and ours have been, in their general lines, the patterns of all modern free constitutions. The British Constitution has been taken as being more or less a model by all the free governments that have been established in Europe and in the British Colonies since 1815. Your Constitution has been taken as a model — imperfect as some of the reproductions have been — by the republican governments that have been established in every part of the western world, — that is to say, in South America and in Central America, —

and it has also had a profound influence not only on the latest constitution of Switzerland, that of 1874, but also upon the federal constitutions of Canada, of Australia, and of South Africa.

It was the glory of our two countries to have held the torch of liberty aloft in days when there were hardly any other free governments in the world and when the dumb populations lay prostrate at the feet of arbitrary power. And it has been the glory of your country in later days to render another great service to humanity, by showing how it is possible to establish and maintain national unity over the vast spaces of a continent, and at the same time to secure the fullest development of self-government in State, in county, and in city over those vast spaces. That was a problem which would have been deemed hopeless and insoluble a century and a half ago, but the example of your success has now set your system on high as a beacon for the world to follow. Your Constitution, by the example it has set of its working and by the halo of fame which now surrounds it, has become one of the vital and vitalizing forces of the modern world. Let us honour the group of illustrious men who, meeting in Philadelphia one hundred and twenty-five years ago, rendered this incomparable and enduring service not to you only, but also to all mankind.

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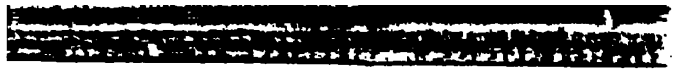

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